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The Nation.

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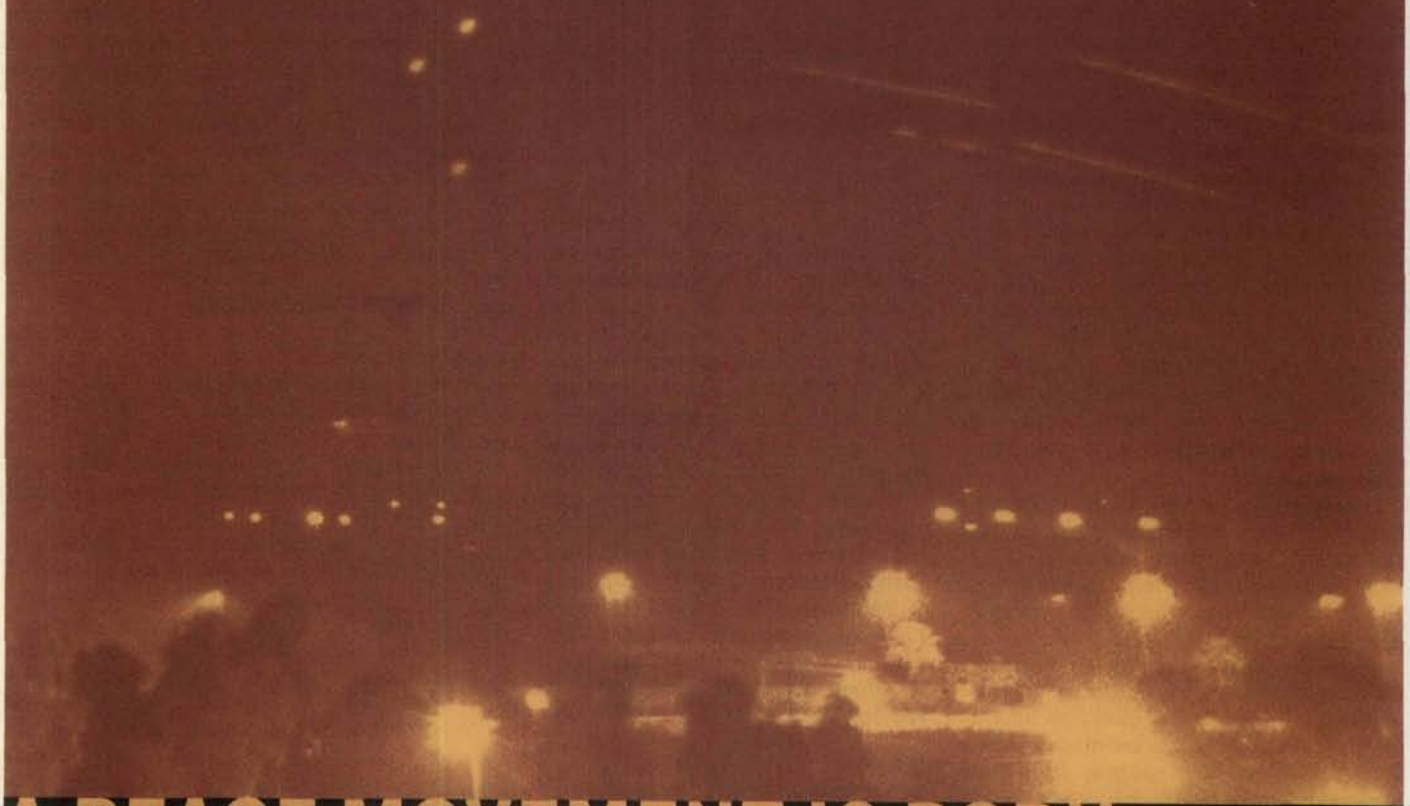

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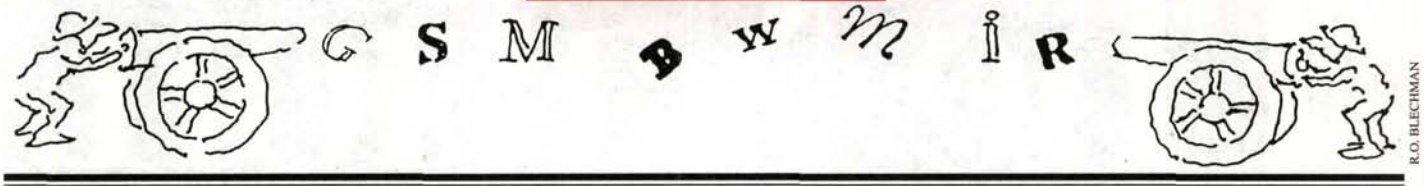
LETTERS



HOISTING A FEW WITH STUDS

Chicago

■ I was fascinated by the letters between Christopher Hitchens and Katha Pollitt ["Exchange," Dec. 16]. There was a throwaway reference in Hitchens's piece that caught my attention. It was a reference to Gore Vidal, at whom he threw a rabbit punch, among others. I was suddenly reminded of a moment in the late, late, late of the evening when Hitch and I got smashed. It was just a couple of years ago.

He was in Chicago in re his excellent Kissinger book. During those blurry moments at my house, and very delightful they were, he confided that in some quarters he was regarded as the successor to Gore Vidal as America's preeminent man of letters. I've a hunch that Vidal may have a comment on that, especially now.

My point is a simple one: vanity. It's probably the least of our seven deadly sins; all of us have a touch of it, more or less. In some cases, more than less. Saddam Hussein is not the subject of this note; nor the nature of our approach toward the mass murderer. Chris has his opinion; *The Nation*'s editors have theirs. It is the manner in which he has behaved toward those who differ with him: his ad hominem assaults on their intelligence and integrity. It is his vulgarity of language, so unlike the guy I knew, that knocked me for a loop.

I have always admired Hitchens's insights, elegance of style and sharpness of wit. I still do. But the turn he has taken—the sharp one—is more in the direction of Becky than of Orwell. I'm afraid that his psyche is now more possessed of vanity than by fairness.

I am somewhat embarrassed in revealing a conversation that took place under the influence of booze. It is something of a foul blow. Yet I am merely pointing out that below-the-belt punching is a game that two can play. It's a nasty game, kid. STUDS TERKEL

P S: Chris, I miss your stuff in *The Nation* very much. It discombobulates me that your stalwart Orwellian self has become aligned with the wanton boy swatting flies. Remember the line from *King Lear*: "As flies to wanton boys, are we to the gods;/They kill us for their sport." That a wanton boy, at this moment in history, is the most powerful man in the world is an absurd fact. It's a scenario that can have been written only by that master of outrageous humor W.C. Fields. It grieves me that one as gifted as you has chosen to play second banana to the wanton boy in a burlesque skit that's not very funny. Come back, Chris; the martini is waiting. On second thought, I withdraw the invitation. Difficulties might ensue. We'd reflect, of course, on the wanton boy's appointment of Kissinger as truth-seeker. But as we mellowed with a drink or two, we'd probably reminisce about our dear old friend Jessica Mitford and what she'd make of things today; and of you. Five gets you ten she'd have said, "Christopher Hitchens, poor boy, since his conversion, has been transmogrified from a witty observer of the human comedy into a bloody bore, seated at the far-right end of the bar." As you may surmise, Kiddo, it would wind up as a somewhat less than pleasant visit. I'd find the memory of Mitford much better company than the presence of Hitchens. Thus, at this moment, I'm drinking alone, hoisting one to Jessica (Decca, as we called her) and her dreams; and mine; and young Christopher's. S.T.

SLENDER THREADS

Austin, Tex.

■ How did John Nichols ["And Now the Good News," Dec. 2] overlook perhaps the biggest upset since the US ice hockey team knocked off the Soviets in the 1980 Olympics? A sports analogy is appropriate: Steve Largent, NFL Hall of Fame receiver, ultra-right-wing Congressman and fundamentalist pretty boy, was a shoo-in for the Oklahoma governorship, until he narrowly lost to Democrat Brad Henry. No one—not even his own party—believed Henry, a state senator from Shawnee, could pull it off.

Largent, labeled by *People* magazine as one of America's "most beautiful" citizens, had everything a Republican could want: petroleum and tobacco industry money, support from W. and a direct line to God (he claimed the Lord told him to run for governor). Henry may not be the progressive dream candidate, but he has strong support from rural farmers, teachers and organized labor. RUSSELL COBB

Providence, RI

■ Here in Providence, 22-year-old David Segal was elected to the City Council and became the first Green elected in the history of the state. Segal, a substitute math teacher and freelance journalist, ran a campaign focused on a living wage, tenants' rights, affordable housing and reforming city government. As the only non-Democrat on the fifteen-member council, David will enter office as the council minority leader in January. PETER IAN ASEN

Manchester, Me.

■ The good news for Maine is the victorious campaigns for two Congressmen, both Democrats, who voted no to the resolution giving George W. Bush the power to declare war unilaterally on Iraq. Tom Allen, the incumbent in the 1st District, won re-election, returning him to Congress, a strong voice of reason from Maine. And Congressman John Baldacci, a man willing to take a courageous stand during his campaign, won the governorship. Governor Baldacci's seat in Congress will be filled by another Democrat, Mike Michaud, who won a close race against his White House–endorsed opponent. CAROL BREWSTER

North Waldoboro, Me.

■ In Maine, the organization behind the successful Congressional campaign of Mike Michaud—a lifelong union member—is credited with bringing enough workers to the polls to have a positive coattails effect on other tight state races. Michaud, a millworker who made an issue of unfair trade practices, corporate responsibility, prescription drug and health reform in a rural, economically distressed district sprawling between Quebec, New Brunswick and the Bay of Fundy, could be instrumental in re-engaging union membership to not just represent labor's interests but to insure that such representation is made by workers themselves. BO YERXA

'CONDOM ROULETTE'?

Washington, DC

■ I've been searching our archives, but I've been unable to find any evidence that the Family Research Council has ever claimed "that the virus that causes AIDS routinely passes through condoms," as Debbie Nathan implied in "The Right Way to Have Sex" [Nov. 18].

Condoms, however, will never be 100 percent effective in preventing transmission of HIV—not because they are permeable but because they can slip or break and are often used inconsistently or incorrectly. The National Institutes of Health (NIH) reports that even with perfect use every time, condoms reduce the risk of HIV transmission by only 85 percent.

Nathan laments the idea that "American kids grow up believing that medical science says intercourse is deadly." Yet Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) statistics show that up to two-thirds of the 275,000 Americans known to have died of AIDS since 1993 may have been exposed to the disease through sexual contact.

Let's assume that none of those people used condoms. Let's then assume (very generously) that 85 percent of those cases could have been prevented by using condoms. That would still leave more than 25,000 dead of AIDS in nine years as a direct result of sexual activity. Meanwhile, NIH reports, "There was no evidence that condom use reduced the risk" of infection with the sexually transmitted Human papillomavirus. HPV has been linked (by *The New England Journal of Medicine*) to more than

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EDITORIALS

Trifecta for Our Side

In moments of triumphant hubris, titans do themselves in. The ancient Greeks understood such reversals of fortune, no doubt, but it is still startling to experience a trifecta of comeuppances with the wondrous quickness of modern American life. Trent Lott appears headed toward being brought down by his own words, revealing only what we already knew about the man. Henry Kissinger is compelled to retreat from public life because he cannot bear to disclose the facts of the deals he does with foreign governments for corporate clients. Bernard Cardinal Law, leading archbishop of the American Catholic Church, resigns when faced with the damning evidence of his own behavior, facts that might have sent a less prestigious citizen to prison.

It is easy enough to lose faith in the swift sword of truth, since it often seems maddeningly slow in achieving just outcomes. Everyone familiar with Senator Lott knew he ascended from the segregationist South and acted as though "whites only" Mississippians were his only political base. Kissinger is the acknowledged master of deceitful realpolitik, and his diplomatic brilliance has always rested on keeping the truth of what he was doing from the American people. Cardinal Law might have retired gracefully a year or two back, when the scandal of pedophile priests first gained prominence, but instead he dug in and decided to roll over the anguished voices of the faithful, who are trying to restore the church's honor.

The truth may be slow, but it is not impotent. In these events, we see confirmation for all those who over many years have patiently stuck to the hard facts and tried to persuade the country that ugly realities must be faced in order to alter things. The public outrage confirms that deeper values have indeed changed beneath the surfaces of public life—that what was tolerated or excused in public figures in the recent past is now intolerable and effectively forbidden. The Republican Party can no longer wink at its past, when it purposely played the race card. The Catholic Church, likewise, can no longer condone cover-ups to protect sex-abusing priests and must open itself to the voices of the laity. Kissinger? Whether or not he ever gets it, his awkward withdrawal—based on his concern about his client list but reflecting at a deeper level his disdain for the public's right to know—makes him the world's poster boy for indecent diplomacy, actions now widely understood as indictable crimes. Perhaps this is how progress is ratified as permanent—when a nation is finally appalled by remnant figures from its own past.

The other recent departure from the public stage—that of Al Gore—is a different matter. His decision not to run for President again in 2004 prompts a mixture of sadness and admiration: sadness that Gore did not find his groove as a candidate in 2000; admiration for the personal strength shown in his decision to step aside. Ironically, his voice in recent months on the war, healthcare and the economy has been the strongest among the party's wannabe candidates for '04. Perhaps he is now viscerally freed to take bigger strokes in behalf of larger principles—the quality he most lacked as a candidate. In that spirit, Gore can still have a very large impact on the next election—staking out a vision for the country that Democrats can hold up as the litmus test for other challengers.

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COMMENT

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Healthcare for All—Now

If there were a firing squad for political rhetoric, the phrase "single payer" would have to be placed against the wall and blown away. This term—generally used by politicians and policy advocates to describe a universal, government-funded national health insurance system—has all the appeal of an examination-room gown. It has no resonance and probably no meaning for 99 percent of Americans, most of whom are nevertheless concerned about access (for themselves and others) to quality and affordable healthcare. Still, progressives and some Democrats have continued to use the term as they call for healthcare for everyone. During his recent book tour, Al Gore demonstrated his wonkish ways when he said he had "reluctantly come to the conclusion" that the only way to fix the "impending crisis" in healthcare is a "single-payer national health insurance plan."

Why worry about these two words now? Because the healthcare debate is revving up, moving toward the pitch it had in the early 1990s, when Bill Clinton won the White House in part with a promise to bring better healthcare to more Americans. But then Hillarycare—the Clintons' proposal for a convoluted public-private system that was hard to explain and easy to mock—brought to a screeching halt the national conversation about the number-one healthcare problem: the millions of Americans who lack insurance. (It also helped Republicans grab control of Congress in 1994.) In the years since, the public discussion about healthcare has focused mainly on narrower issues, most notably a patients' bill of rights and prescription drug benefits for the elderly. Both are important matters, but they have nothing to do with providing affordable insurance for the many Americans who need it. That topic is now—finally—back on the radar screen.

In November the National Academy of Sciences released a report declaring, "The American health care system is confronting a crisis. The health care delivery system is incapable of meeting the present, let alone the future, needs of the American people." The study noted, "The cost of private health insurance is increasing at an annual rate in excess of 12 percent. Individuals are paying more out of pocket and receiving fewer benefits. One in seven Americans is uninsured, and the number of uninsured is on the rise." In the next three years, the number of uninsured may go up by nearly 25 percent and hit 50 million. In Los Angeles, overcrowded emergency rooms are turning away 40 percent of incoming ambulances. Many private hospitals, looking to maximize profits, try to keep the number of vacant—that is, available—beds low, which means even those with coverage or the money to pay cannot always obtain care. Healthcare is again becoming a chief concern of middle-class Americans. A recent front-page *New York Times* article chronicled the increasing difficulty middle-income families are having finding affordable health insurance in this weak economy. Pollsters report it to be a top concern of voters. And politicians are taking notice.

As part of the pre-primary scuffling among the Democratic 2004 contenders, the undeclared candidates have been positioning themselves on healthcare. Before he dropped out of the race, Gore, who last time out blasted former Senator Bill Bradley for propos-

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COMMENT

ing a plan designed to lead toward universal coverage, shifted to supporting a national insurance system to cover all Americans. Howard Dean, a stockbroker-turned-physician who was elected Vermont governor, cites as a White House qualification his "Dr. Dynasaur" program, which guarantees coverage to every child in families with an income below 300 percent of the poverty rate. Dean says he believes in universal coverage, but since his attempt to achieve it in Vermont failed in 1993, he has advocated a step-by-step approach. A fiscal conservative, he also wants a system with co-payments and deductibles high enough to help contain costs. He is dismissive of the patients' bill of rights: "What a lot of hot air. I'm interested in getting people insured." Massachusetts Senator John Kerry has indicated he will weigh in soon with a healthcare address.

The Bush White House is obviously worried about being caught off-guard on this front, like the old man was. Aides have been telling reporters they're looking to take dramatic steps this coming year. Will they offer something beyond modest non-refundable tax credits that help mainly those who are close to affording insurance and not those further away? Another reason the Administration is likely to move: Its pals in the business community—who are looking to ease the increasingly burdensome cost employers face in insuring workers—are lobbying the White House for assistance.

What is the right way to take advantage of the political moment? Progressives who yearn for a national system that covers all may be heartened and eager to press ahead with the single-payer notion (without calling it "single payer," I hope). As Physicians for a National Health Program argue, a recent study of healthcare options shows that only a government-run system can extend coverage to all Americans. Yet in November, voters in Oregon rejected such an initiative by a whopping 79 to 21 percent. The measure would have created the first state-run health plan covering 100 percent of necessary medical care, including prescription drugs—without any deductibles or co-payments. It would have been financed in part by a hefty new 8 percent income tax and a new payroll tax. Supporters were outspent about 40 to 1 by the state's healthcare industry, fighting for its life. But no government-managed universal plan is going to escape a well-financed attack from the deep-pockets medical industry. Moreover, the healthcare establishment's assaults are not the only obstacle to establishing this sort of system. According to Democratic pollster and strategist Mark Mellman, even though voters are looking for healthcare relief and favor the principle of universal coverage, they don't want the government to be in charge of the healthcare system. "To them," he says, "that implies government control—which to many means the efficiency of the Post Office and the compassion of the IRS."

This latest political opening may not last long enough to permit the advocates of a single, federally administered, universal system to persuade the public that it will be more trustworthy and offer better care and a better deal than privately run HMOs. In the meantime, other proposals that extend existing government coverage are earning attention. The National Academy of Sciences has proposed that three to five states explore pilot programs that provide health insurance to all citizens and legal residents by offering tax credits or expanding Medicaid and the Children's Health Insurance Program. Henry Aaron, a health policy expert at the Brookings Institution, has been pushing similar expansions.

Progressives surely ought to keep urging universal coverage—healthcare should be a right, not a benefit of employment or a privilege of those who can afford it—but they need to dump the single-payer term and replace it with more straightforward rhetoric. Guaranteed health coverage for all? "We don't yet have the words that work for a big, national program, for wholesale reform," Mellman says. (After the pro-initiative forces in Oregon chose the slogan "Secure Affordable Health Care for All," a poll showed the initiative up 8 points with women, down 4 with men.)

In the meantime, universal healthcare advocates should seriously consider how to exploit the moment. Are there strides—rather than steps—that can be attempted in the coming political season? It's not going to be easy with corporate-friendly Republicans in charge of the White House and Congress. But markers—easy-to-understand and easy-to-pitch proposals—ought to be laid down. And Democrats who champion universal coverage and who believe healthcare offers an advantage for their party should make sure they have learned one important lesson of the early Bush II years: Their initiatives must go far enough so that Bush cannot inoculate himself by offering weaker, me-too versions. There should be an utterly clear fight that will give voters a chance to reward those working for positive change and punish the defenders of the current, and worsening, mess. DAVID CORN

COMMENT

The People's Church

Since Martin Luther nailed his ninety-five theses to the Wittenberg cathedral door, it is unlikely that protest outside a church has so signaled an irrevocable shift of consciousness: Sunday after Sunday for almost a year now, the front doors of Boston's Cathedral of the Holy Cross have been the backdrop for a vigil and speak-out by victims and families of the nearly two-decade spree of sexual exploitation of children by criminal priests under the watch of Bernard Cardinal Law. Throughout these vigils as throughout his regime, Law remained seigneurially opaque and aloof. As recently as two weeks ago, when he finally agreed to meet with representatives of the grassroots lay organization Voice of the Faithful, Law chastised them for not seeking his OK before founding the group. Law finally vacated his job on December 13, ten days after a court-ordered document dump exposed staggering new evidence of priestly blackmail, rape and conspiracy, demonstrating the degree to which Law had lied about his knowledge of the crime spree and his readiness to coddle the perpetrators. A letter signed by fifty-eight Boston-area priests urging Law to step down was the coup de grâce, and the Pope accepted Law's resignation.

No one should mistake Rome's gesture as a sign that the upper reaches of the Vatican hierarchy have become receptive to what journalist Penny Lernoux called "the cry of the people." Far from it: The Vatican was making a boardroom call on a boss no longer

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able to manage his troops, raise money or call in political favors. John Paul II makes no secret of his suspicions about whether US courts can be trusted to deal fairly with church-related incidents. One of his closest lieutenants, Cardinal Oscar Rodriguez Maradiaga, recently invoked the names of Hitler and Stalin when talking about how the Massachusetts judiciary has handled the abuse cases. Nor has John Paul ever minced words about his distaste for inclusionary politics. "The church," he declares, "is not a democracy, and no one from below can decide on the truth."

Evidence suggests that the Vatican will hold fast to its contention that these depredations are symptomatic of lax American sexual morality and will continue its libelous murmurings that these rapes are perpetrated by gay priests rather than pedophiles, while failing to reckon with the actual scope of the sexual attacks—on mature women, young nuns, adolescent boys, little girls. (The gay-equals-pedophile write-off of this massive power abuse has been vehemently rejected by Voice of the Faithful and other from-the-pew activist groups. Organizations of those who have been sexually exploited by priests count almost 50 percent of their membership as female.)

But Vatican spin doctors are going to have a hard time dealing with these new voices from below. Earlier in this papacy, conservatives at St. Peter's regularly vilified the horizontally constructed parish politics organized by proponents of "liberation theology" in Latin America as infiltration by Marxist ideologues. That characterization won't wash here: Voice of the Faithful, for example, has its origins in the affluent suburbs west of Boston, among educated, politically moderate Catholic professionals.

Right-wing Vatican ideologues had been counting on an easy transition to the next papacy when the ailing John Paul dies, since the Pontiff appointed 117 of the 122 Cardinals who'll elect the next Pope. But this *annus horribilis* may well be more consequential in the future of the church, and in Catholic identity, than the résumé of the next Pope. Because of the Boston crisis, a growing number of American Catholics have begun to articulate their faith in the terms they use to describe their citizenship: democratization, participation, a redress of grievances. MARGARET SPILLANE

Margaret Spillane, a native Bostonian, is a longtime Nation *contributor.*

CALVIN TRILLIN

REPUBLICAN ANGER AT TRENT LOTT

Republicans feel anger, unconcealed,
Because Trent Lott revealed what he revealed.
They've always reassured the racist clods
By using code, festooned with winks and nods.
But now Lott's blown the gaff, for, once he'd spoken,
The world could see the Southern race-code broken.

The 'Public Interest'

For years Pittsburghers have witnessed the low regard in which public television station WQED holds its second channel, WQEX. Since November 1997, WQED has been airing on WQEX the same programs, at the same time, as on its flagship Channel 13, simulcasting a typical PBS mix of kids' shows, pro-business public affairs, *Antiques Roadshow* and *Nova*. And three times in the past seven years, WQED—arguing that Pittsburgh doesn't need and can't support two noncommercial stations—has sought to unload WQEX and pocket the proceeds to repair its own troubled finances.

This past summer the Bush appointees of the Federal Communications Commission rewarded this stewardship, voting 3 to 1 to let WQED "de-reserve" WQEX—that is, open it to commercial use, sell it to commercial broadcaster ShootingStar Inc. and keep the $20 million purchase price. Unable to secure financing, ShootingStar bailed out in November when WQEX rejected the broadcaster's request to modify the terms of the sale. Nonetheless, the station remains on the open market, and the vote still sets a dangerous precedent for dozens of public television's so-called second stations in larger markets. Many of these stations were distributed to existing stations to further public TV's educational mission.

In his scathing dissent, commissioner Michael Copps called the majority's action a violation of the public interest and an unprecedented breach of FCC policies. It was bad enough to halve the number of public stations—the first time a noncommercial educational license has been de-reserved without being replaced. But the vote also contradicts longstanding FCC policy by letting WQED both peddle WQEX without putting it up for competitive bid and then keep the proceeds—money that would normally accrue to the taxpayers.

About three-fifths of Americans have access to two or more public-TV signals, according to sociologist and activist Jerold Starr, author of *Air Wars: The Fight to Reclaim Public Broadcasting*. In 1989 a PBS-commissioned study concluded that not only do stations in two-station markets exhibit little duplication of programming but second stations are more diverse and respond better to local needs, incorporating for instance ethnic, labor and queer perspectives. That is, they do what public TV is supposed to. Starr, head of Citizens for Independent Public Broadcasting (CIPB), cites examples, including KDBI in Denver/Boulder, WYBE in Philadelphia—and, until 1997, WQEX.

However, large-market public stations have long complained that secondary (usually smaller) stations, whether owned by the same group or not, pay less for programming and compete for donations. The Corporation for Public Broadcasting has effectively cut funding to second stations in public-TV duopolies. And some big-city stations have explored reducing the number of PBS member stations to one per market.

Until WQED, none had succeeded. Citing financial troubles, the once-proud station—birthplace of *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood*—tried twice previously to de-reserve and sell WQEX, including a proposed three-party swap and sale that would have ended with WQEX operated by fundamentalist Christian broad-

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caster Cornerstone TeleVision. The FCC approved this deal, but it died when Cornerstone refused to comply with an FCC demand that it actually air educational programs as opposed to strictly religious programs on the channel.

WQED currently claims it is $9 million in debt, with the expense of mandatory conversion to digital broadcasting and other needed improvements to come. FCC chairman Michael Powell and commissioners Kathleen Abernathy and Kevin Martin agree that de-reserving WQEX and keeping the proceeds is WQED's only hope. They say Pittsburgh's stagnant economy and population decline make supporting two noncommercial stations impossible—though they also assert that adding an eighth commercial channel will insure a diversity of voices in the Pittsburgh market.

The majority cites as evidence that WQEX isn't needed the fact that WQED has been doing nothing with it but simulcasting. Yet as Copps—the FCC's lone Democrat—argues, WQED presents no evidence that it tried to sell WQEX to an entity that might have run it noncommercially in fresh and interesting ways (as universities and state bodies do in other US cities). He also notes that nearly fifty markets smaller than Pittsburgh support two or more noncommercial educational stations.

"Only a conservative Republican FCC could possibly have made this ruling," says Starr, whose CIPB joined other grassroots activists in opposing previous threats to WQEX, even seeking to strip WQED of its license. Starr says CIPB won't appeal the decision, largely because the FCC worded its ruling to apply only to license-holders in severe financial distress. But he agrees it's a bad precedent: State and local government bodies and colleges and universities, which hold nearly half the country's 350 or so public-TV licenses, might now be emboldened to claim fiscal distress and try to divest themselves of second stations. In an era of media consolidation and increasing commercialization of public TV, the transformation of a nonprofit broadcast outlet into a commercial one is cause for alarm. BILL O'DRISCOLL

Bill O'Driscoll is a Pittsburgh-based writer.

In Fact . . .

NEW SCHOOL MANNERS

Nobody asked us, but we have some advice for the students at New School University who recently marched angrily into the offices of president Bob Kerrey and demanded he resign because he has written and spoken about his support for ousting Saddam Hussein. Our advice is: Don't try to shut down your president's arguments. Try to persuade him with better ones. We think college and university presidents engaging and playing a role in the political dramas of the day provide a good example to students. We suspect that on the matter of US policy vis-à-vis Iraq we have some of the same reservations about Kerrey's position as many of you protesters do. So give him facts and figures. For a crash course in Iraq 101, see Michael Massing on page 17.

HEY, BOYS AND GIRLS

Eric Ditzian writes: At a loss as to how to entertain the kids over the holidays after you've all seen the Harry Potter sequel twice? Why not check out the website run by the Central Intelligence Agency (www.cia.gov/cia/ciakids)? Offering zinging one-liners like, "Fly high on intelligence, NOT drugs," the site targets elementary-school-age children. Bogart, a retired Secret Service dog, reminisces about the good old days: "Gosh, it seems like just yesterday when I went through basic training. I was just a young pup then, about a year old, spunky, restless.... The country was in the middle of the Persian Gulf War. Some feared that terrorists might try to attack the Agency." Besides terrorist invasion, the CIA anticipates what kids really desire: "If you like to write papers...and have the patience to go through a mound of different types of information...then the Directorate of Intelligence (DI) is for you." Suggestions for naptime reading: the 644-page *Encyclopedia of Espionage*. Not to be outdone by their intelligence-gathering brethren, the FBI and NSA have their own low-budget kid websites. NSA presents a helpful glossary of code-breaker terms, such as "columnar transposition cipher." Darrell and Shirley, two bomb-sniffing black Labs, direct the FBI's site. The White House runs a kiddie site too. In a brief bio of Dubya, in which we learn his favorite ice cream flavor (pralines and cream), there is a "Challenge Question: What is the meaning of working together in a *bipartisan spirit*?" Well, boys and girls?

ELLSBERG'S TAKE ON IRAQ

Even as Americans breathe a sigh of relief, feeling that the US agreement to allow UN inspectors to search for weapons of mass destruction in Iraq will force an indefinite postponement of invasion plans, Daniel Ellsberg cautions us that Washington hawks may have a different scenario in mind. Ellsberg, who stopped by our offices the other day to talk about his recently published memoir, *Secrets*, warns that the Bush Administration may orchestrate—or claim—an attack on US troops that will be used as a justification for military action, as happened in Vietnam.

NEWS OF THE WEAK IN REVIEW

This Administration is so ahistorical it's scary. And we aren't referring to George W. Bush's campaign goofs. There is Gen. Tommy Franks, head of the US Central Command, explaining in a speech in West Palm Beach that we must invade Iraq to stop Saddam Hussein from developing nuclear weapons. "The sight of the first mushroom cloud on one of the major population centers on this planet," the general said, "is something that most nations on this planet are willing to go a long ways out of the way to prevent." First? Ever hear of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Tommy? And more recently, there was Ari Fleischer elucidating why Iraq is a more pressing menace than North Korea: "Iraq, of course, does have a history that North Korea does not have of engaging in war against its neighbors." Must have been some other North Korea that invaded South Korea.

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EDWARD SOREL & RICHARD LINGEMAN

Religion in the News

With Friends of Israel Like These... *Oy Vey!*

The Chicago chapter of the Zionist Organization of America recently presented its State of Israel Friendship Award to Pat Robertson, who has declared America is a "Christian nation" and believes in the conversion of the Jews after the Second Coming. He is less friendly to Muslims. Recently, he criticized President Bush's assertion that Islam is a peaceful religion. Islam, he told CNN, is "anything but peaceful," since it advocates jihad—"either to force conversion or death."

Where the Religion Meets the Road

The Evangelical Environmental Network launched an ad campaign urging car-owning Christians concerned about global warming to ask, "What Would Jesus Drive?" Not a gas-guzzling SUV, answers the EEN. The Rev. Jerry Falwell disagreed, stating on CNN that global warming was scientifically untrue—a concept created "to destroy America's free enterprise system and our economic stability." So WWJD? Falwell didn't say. Probably a Hummer.

Faith-Based Initiative—In God We Trust?

PRESIDENT EASES LIMITS ON U.S. AID TO RELIGIOUS GROUPS—*New York Times.* "Government can write checks, but it can't put hope in people's hearts"—George W. Bush. *Item.* The State of Illinois has charged Bishop James Wilkowski, an evangelical Catholic, with diverting to his personal use $468,000 in state grants for care of AIDS patients. *Item.* Indiana State Senator Sam Smith Jr. has been accused of channeling a $445,000 federal grant for a Baptist Women's Shelter to the Rev. Lee Gilliam, who used the money to buy rental properties from which he profited. *Item.* A Housing and Urban Development Department program in Washington, once touted as a model of Bush's faith-based initiative, has been suspended because the group administering it was reselling abandoned houses purchased cheaply from HUD for "excessive prices." *Item.* HUD says San Francisco owes it $400,000 because money from a federal grant was given to a supporter of Mayor Willie Brown who used it to buy a building that was sold to the Nation of Islam, which used it as a mosque. HUD said the sale violated the separation of church and state.

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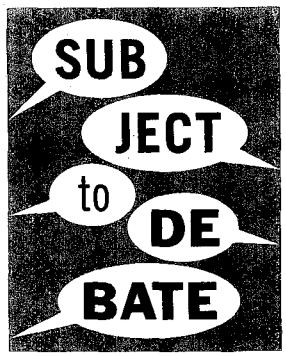
KATHA POLLITT

It's That Time Again...



What a rotten year! Not for me personally—quite the reverse in fact, as also for you, I hope—but for the things we care about: women's rights, the environment, social justice, world peace, civil liberties and civil rights. And what's that sound I hear? Troops massing on the Iraqi border? A herd of eager reactionaries galumphing through Congress on their way to sit on the federal bench for the rest of their lives and, more to the point, ours? Democrats scratching their heads, wondering why they exist? One of these days even Ralph Nader will have to admit that campaigning hard in swing states like, I dunno, Florida was not a helpful move way back in 2000.

So let's get busy. I happen to know that many people on your holiday shopping list do not want or need more sweaters, earrings, beer-making kits or *Best of Bob Marley* CDs. They would prefer a book of poetry—I'm giving Sharon Olds's vibrant *The Unswept Room*—or a *Nation* subscription, or a vintage uncut sheet of Richard Nixon stamps. But what they would like most of all is for you to make a donation to an organization that's fighting the good fight. Here are some small, low- or no-overhead groups that will make excellent use of your end-of-year gift.

The Kopkind Colony. Andy Kopkind was for many years *The Nation*'s star journalist, as well as its heart, soul and resident bon vivant, and he is still much missed by staff and readers lucky enough to have known him or his writing. He would have loved the Kopkind Colony, founded by friends in his memory, which provides free ten-day sessions—talks, seminars, food and fun—for young activists and journalists on the left, at his beloved Vermont farm. The entire annual budget for this mostly volunteer effort at left-wing institution-building could fit inside the monthly croissant bill at the American Enterprise Institute. Whether you knew Andy personally, or just looked forward to his incomparably shrewd (and funny) dispatches from all over, there's no better way to honor his spirit. Send your tax-deductible donation to the Kopkind Colony, 158 Kopkind Road, Guilford, VT 05301.

Freedom From Religion Foundation. You don't have to be an atheist to love this organization, you just have to take seriously the apparently radical notion that church and state should be separate—no Ten Commandments in the courtroom, no Bible teaching in public schools, no "under God" in the Pledge. The FFRF has brought—and won—important lawsuits (against evangelical Bible college students proselytizing in Tennessee public schools, for example) and needs all the help it can get to fight the oncoming deluge of federally funded Christianity for the poor in the guise of social services. Membership ($40/individual) brings a sub to *Freethought Today*, a lively publication that will make you feel that you are not alone, even if you are. FFRF Inc., Box 750, Madison, WI 53701 (www.ffrf.org).

Louisiana Crisis Assistance Center. One way to work against the death penalty is to keep people off death row. "The LCAC is more like a group of missionaries than lawyers," *Nation* contributing editor Bruce Shapiro tells me. "They take on the cases no one else wants—not just innocence cases but the kind of undeniably guilty defendants where the only victory is a life sentence—and investigate like mad, basically moving in with their clients' families to build a body of mitigating evidence. They're saving lives one client at a time and slowing Louisiana's executions down to near zero from one of the highest rates in the country." Send these hardworking, peanuts-paid people a check, and drop death-penalty devotee George W. Bush a note letting him know. Make checks payable to LCAC and send to the attention of Kim Watts, 636 Baronne Street, New Orleans, LA 70113 (www.thejusticecenter.org/lcac).

Women for Afghan Women. Remember Afghan women? The vast majority are still desperately poor, lacking in everything needed for a decent life, from healthcare and food to human rights and employment. On a tiny budget, this group of Afghan and non-Afghan women from the New York area funds an impressive variety of grassroots projects: Ninety-eight literacy classes for girls and women all over Afghanistan, five primary schools in refugee camps, emergency aid for 3,000 refugee families, plus scholarships, carpet-weaving classes for women and various projects of the Ministry of Women's Affairs. In the works are plans for computer classes and for income-generating projects like beekeeping and poultry raising. (Note: I'm on the advisory board, but don't let that dissuade you.) Checks should be made out to Women for Afghan Women, with "FVEF" or "direct aid" on the memo line. WAW, Box 152, Midtown Station, New York, NY 10018 (www.womenforafghanwomen.org).

Concord Feminist Health Center. This wonderful clinic provides first-rate, respectful and sensitive reproductive healthcare, including abortion, to women in a pro-choice state that has unfortunately just elected anti-choicers John Sununu to the Senate and Craig Benson to the governor's mansion. Now is the time to support the center's mission to care for poor and uninsured patients, and its philosophy of trusting women to make their own decisions and to handle the emotions they raise. CFHC, 38 South Main Street, Concord, NH 03301 (www.fwhc.org/concord).

Readers out West might choose to support the *Blue Mountain Clinic* in Missoula, Montana, the first feminist-run clinic in the state, burned to the ground nearly ten years ago by an anti-choice zealot but risen from the ashes and carrying on its excellent—but underfunded—mission in a vastly underserved part of the country. Note on your check that it's a donation and mail to 610 N. California, Missoula, MT 59802 (www.bluemountainclinic.com).

Resist. An easy and reliable way to support all the great grassroots groups you've never heard of is to donate to this venerable organization, which funds a lot of them: welfare, gay, prisoners' and women's rights; antiwar and antipoverty work; community, student immigrant and labor organizing; disability activism and more. Resist vets the groups so you don't have to. Resist, Inc., 259 Elm Street, Suite 201, Somerville, MA 02144 (www.resistinc.org). ■

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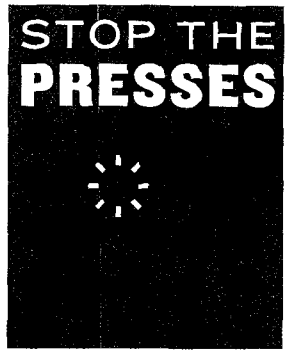
ERIC ALTERMAN

Raines of Fire



New York Times executive editor Howell Raines shares, with his fellow liberal Southerner Al Gore, a talent for driving his opponents batty. Conservatives and a few not-so-conservatives have been conducting a journalistic jihad against Raines ever since he decided that dissension within the military, within the Republican Party in Congress and within the Republican national security establishment—many of whose members served in the first Bush Administration—about George Bush's decision to pursue a pre-emptive war against Iraq constituted a genuine news story. (Conservatives apparently hoped to be able to launch wars against whomever they please without any discussion, except those sanctioned from above and officially leaked to Bob Woodward.)

The latest right-wing bee-in-a-bonnet controversy for Raines concerns the paper's coverage of the Cro-Magnon men-only admissions policies of Augusta National Golf Club. It was aptly described by the Toronto *Star*'s Antonia Zerbisias as "a dust-up over how a rich white man's club won't let rich white women join, and how CBS still plans to showcase the course when it hosts the Masters, a tournament starring Tiger Woods who, as a black man, should know better than to play at a place which discriminates."

So far the *Times* treatment of the controversy has elicited coverage and criticism in the *Washington Post*, CNN, Fox News, *USA Today*, *Newsweek*, *Slate*, the New York *Daily News*, the *New York Observer* and just about everywhere in the blogosphere. To the uninitiated, it's hard to understand why all the *tsuris*. As a citizen of the Free World, I consider it my God-given right to ignore any newspaper story I damn please. Of the thirty-three stories on the Augusta controversy the *Times* published as of December 3, I noticed maybe two of them and read zero. The anger, moreover, is curious because *Times* coverage has hardly been out of whack with the rest of the nation's newspapers. As of December 3 it had published four fewer stories than the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*'s thirty-seven, where Augusta is a local story, and just slightly more than the *Los Angeles Times* (twenty-seven pieces), *USA Today* (twenty-four) and the *Washington Post* (twenty-two).

Conservatives see a plot on Raines's part to turn the nation's newspaper of record into an adjunct of *The Nation*. This is just silly. On any given day one can find reports in the *Times* that gladden a liberal's heart alongside those that infuriate it. There is bias evident in the paper every day, but it's conservative as often as liberal. To give one tiny instance, during the height of the Augusta flap, the paper ran a 2,500-word front-page story on the National Bureau of Economic Research terming it "nonpartisan" and the "nation's premier economic research organization," without mentioning that it enjoys $10 million in conservative philanthropic underwriting from the likes of the Bradley, Olin, Scaife and Smith Richardson foundations. (Thanks to Rob Levine of mediatransparency.org for that tidbit.)

Earlier this year, Ken Auletta's 17,225-word profile of Raines in *The New Yorker* provided virtually no support for the "liberal crusader" critique. The only incident that touched on it was Raines's decision that a study revealing that blacks in New Jersey tended to speed more than whites—hence, complicating the issue of racial profiling—should be run on the front page of the Metro section rather than on page one. But as Raines noted in the *New Yorker* story, the newspaper did not possess a copy of the study and the editor had concerns about its methodology.

If Raines is a liberal at all, he is not a very consistent one. After all, when he ran the editorial page, it sounded almost like the *Wall Street Journal* on Bill Clinton and Monicagate. "Until it was measured by Kenneth Starr," thundered the voice of the paper of record, "no citizen—indeed, perhaps no member of his own family—could have grasped the completeness of President Clinton's mendacity or the magnitude of his recklessness." Meanwhile, the only problem with Starr's Torquemada-like investigation, opined the *Times*, was "legal klutziness.... In the main, Mr. Starr did his legal duty." As Michael Tomasky pointed out in these pages, as of December 13, 1998, the day after the House Judiciary Committee voted on the fourth and final article of impeachment, this alleged bastion of Upper West Side knee-jerk liberalism had published some fifty-five editorials in re Monica Lewinsky. Exactly two concerned themselves with Starr's egregious investigative techniques. The other fifty-three found fault with the President.

I am of the opinion that newspaper editors have the right to crusade against whatever and whomever they choose, so long as they observe the basic rules of fairness to their readers and their subjects. That's one reason we have them. The *Times* coverage of Augusta, while a bit over the top, appears to have adhered to this rule, with everyone being given the opportunity to make his or her case in the paper's news columns. The editors did make a mistake in this regard by killing two sports columns by staff writers that took issue with the crusade. In the end, though, Raines did the right thing and reversed the decision.

I wrote a column in May 2001 arguing for an ombudsman at the *Times*, and I stand by it. Its top editors exercise too much power and influence for any fallible person to deploy without the requisite checks and balances. But all this controversy over Augusta is a smokescreen. Conservatives demand perfect fealty to their worldview from every media institution. They are pretty successful at getting it through their constant battering of the phantom "liberal media." The *Times*, like just about every other mainstream journalistic institution, was pretty slow off the mark on the Trent Lott story, in addition to giving the racist/segregationist Republican leader a pass on the issue for his entire career. Lott's feet were held to the fire almost entirely by the blogosphere, led by Josh Marshall, until Tom Edsall of the *Post* and the *Times*'s Paul Krugman picked up the story and pushed it into the faces of the rest of the media. That Lott almost got away with it may be seen as a tribute to the conservative assault on honest reporting, of which the campaign against Howell Raines is merely the latest chapter. ■

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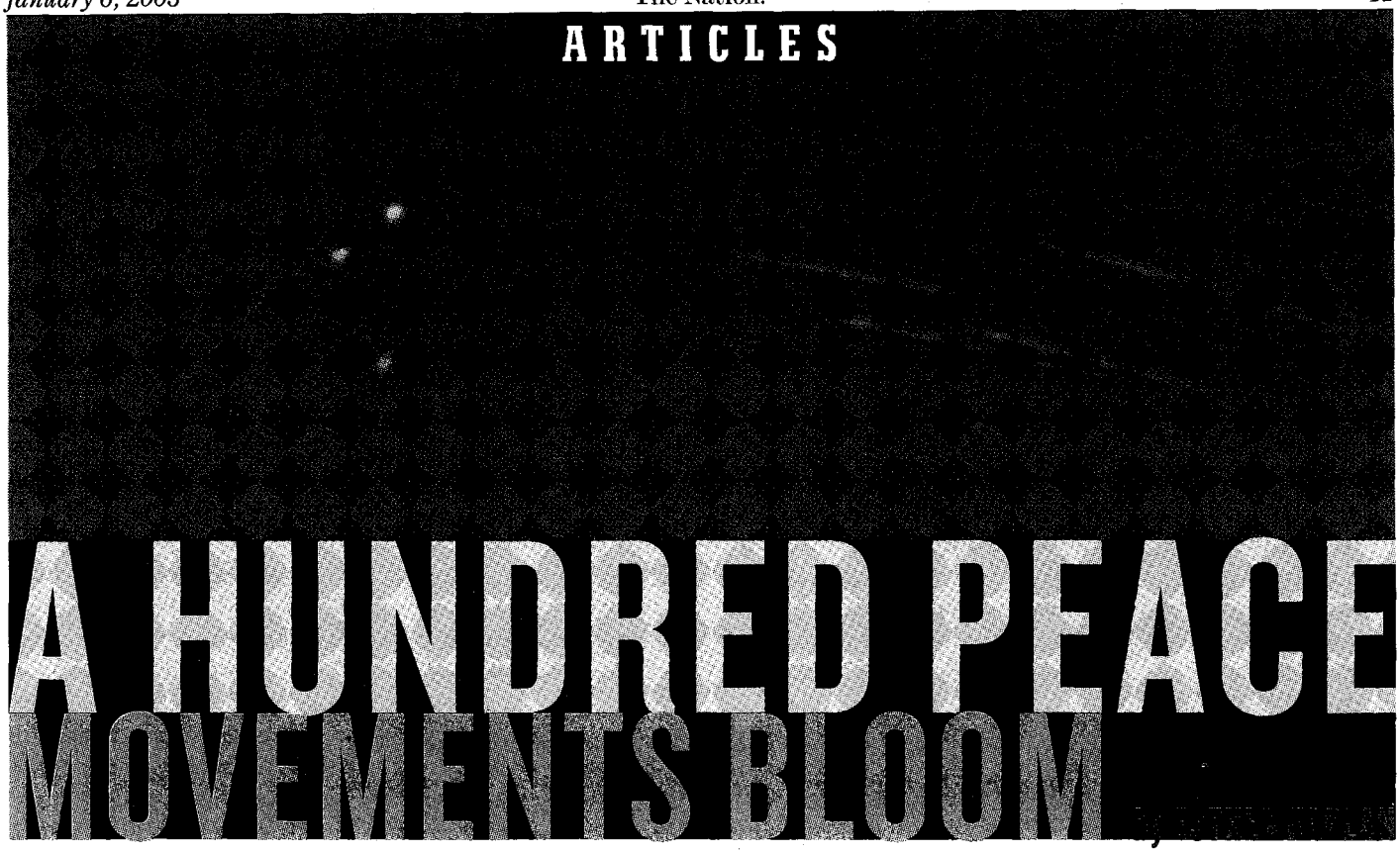
ARTICLES



A HUNDRED PEACE MOVEMENTS BLOOM

WAGING

This article is part of the "Waging Peace" series, covering the movement that is emerging across America to oppose war on Iraq. —The Editors

Even with an enemy as easy to hate as Saddam Hussein, the Bush Administration's war plans in Iraq have awakened "huge reservoirs of unease" in the American public, says Peace Action spokesperson Scott Lynch. The Administration's bullying autumn war drive, its explicit discussion of pre-emptive strikes and regime change, its overtly corporate agenda on energy and oil, and its early, arrogant attempts to make war without Congress, let alone the United Nations, unleashed a flood of antiwar sentiment and activity across the country. The sheer breadth of this opposition could help to birth one of the largest antiwar movements in US history—that is, if these politically diverse antiwar eruptions can join forces as a movement at all.

So far, the strength of the opposition is certainly not its unity, but its diversity. Here, for example, is a snapshot of the New York City antiwar movement in the final days of November: Uptown, black and Latino youth activists and tenant organizers huddle in a back room, discussing how to turn out bodega owners and taxi drivers for their December 14 march in Harlem "for schools and jobs, not war"; while downtown, a collection of apron-clad activists, from such global justice outfits as Reclaim the Streets, hold a "bake sale for the military," a propaganda stunt to promote an antiwar listserv. Some 2,000 high school students walk out of their classes to protest the war, organized by one antiwar coalition, Not in Our Name, and a week later, a thousand African-American congregants pack the rafters—and basement—of the House of the Lord Church in Brooklyn for an antiwar town meeting sponsored by another national coalition, International ANSWER.

Glance around the country and one sees this diversity multiplied: People came out for peace marches and vigils even in such conservative redoubts as Sioux Falls, South Dakota, and Anchorage, Alaska. An estimated 100,000 turned out for a march in Washington. Such mainstays of the institutional movement as NOW, the NAACP, the National Council of Churches, the Conference of Catholic Bishops and the California Labor Federation—organizations that collectively represent millions of Americans—have all issued strong antiwar resolutions, as have some thirty city councils. Dissent—or at least discomfort—has cropped up even in conservative quarters, at the libertarian Cato Institute, which has called a war "unwise"; among former military and security advisers such as Brent Scowcroft, who have pushed against unilateral action; and, most impressively, from the likes of Colin Powell and George Tenet within the Administration itself. Combined with international opposition and lukewarm support for the war in polls, this resistance has already slowed an invasion and backed the Administration into negotiations with Congress and the UN. Former SDS leader Tom Hayden sees a level of ferment that was unimaginable at a comparable stage of the Vietnam War, say in 1965—when only 7,000 turned out for a national march on Washington.

The groundswell of opposition, however, was ahead of any leadership. As Bush launched his war drive, Democratic Party leaders, urged on by impassioned constituents, could have marshaled the opposition, but declined. Peace Action, a descendant of SANE/Freeze, has 100 chapters across the country and calls itself "the nation's largest peace organization." But last fall, says Lynch, "we just didn't have the capacity" to coordinate a mass action. Networks of the other longstanding peace organizations—Pax Christi, the Quakers, the War Resisters League—have provided the infrastructure for many of the tiny vigils in Middle America, but nothing in the way of national coordination. "The historic

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peace organizations are always there," says Leslie Cagan, lead organizer of the 1982 antinuke rally in Central Park, "and yet they always need to be regrouped whenever a new war comes along."

While these sectors regrouped, far-left groups stepped into the breach. The International Action Center has built momentum since the 1991 Iraq war through an antisanctions campaign and was ready to roll after September 11, convening its new antiwar coalition, International ANSWER, within days. It was ANSWER that organized the surprisingly large October 26 rallies in San Francisco and Washington, with groups like Peace Action coming along for the ride. Next in line was Not in Our Name, a more populist alternative to ANSWER, whose pledge of resistance struck a chord across the country, reproduced in small-town papers like the *Sierra Vista Herald*, which serves an Arizona military town, and inspired a national day of actions in early October. Much has been made recently in the left and mainstream press of these coalitions' ties to the Workers World Party and the Revolutionary Communist Party, respectively, but journalists' warnings about the risks posed by these groups lag behind conversations in the streets.

Peace activists have been strategizing about the International Action Center since an earlier guise forced dual marches during the 1991 Gulf War; at issue was their refusal to condemn Iraq's invasion of Kuwait or to support economic sanctions as a war alternative. And newcomers like youth organizer Erica Smiley, 22, weathered painful squabbles over the DC demonstrations last April—with ANSWER moving the date of its Palestine-focused march to coincide with a national student peace march, nearly eclipsing the latter's call to "stop the war at home and abroad."

The biggest challenge is bringing together peace groups with the global justice coalition and the urban racial justice movement.

But students, antiglobalization street activists and old-time peaceniks alike appreciate ANSWER's knack for mobilizing the unaffiliated and turning out the Arab-American community—the latter due in great part to the leadership of groups such as the Free Palestine Alliance in ANSWER's coalition. Tom Hayden recalls "similar divisions, and rival organizations and factions," in the 1960s antiwar movement, but says there was an "ecology" to it, in which "most of us recognized that there was a certain inevitability about the other camp." While some antiwar activists shun ANSWER altogether, most adopt this ecological view, and say they are ready to work with—or at least around—the coalition. Most also agree that a sectarian approach—even a liberal sectarianism that seeks to isolate the far left—will never build a broad antiwar movement. And they share the confidence, says David McReynolds, a longtime activist with the War Resisters League, that "ANSWER's monopoly has to be broken, and it will be."

It's already being chipped away in a variety of ways. A broad spectrum of players—traditional peace groups; student, global justice and antiracist activists; mainstream labor, environmental, civil rights and women's organizations—piggybacked onto ANSWER's big march to convene an ambitious new national coalition, United for Peace. A hundred-plus celebrities, working in conjunction with the National Council of Churches and other liberal institutions, announced their opposition to the war on December 10 through the new Win Without War coalition—joining a national day of some 150 antiwar actions called by United for Peace. Student, labor and women's coalitions are in the works. And young anticapitalists, with their distaste for authoritarianism of any stripe, are honing creative strategies for cooperating with ANSWER while maintaining autonomy. On October 26 a local coalition spearheaded by the DC Anti-Capitalist Convergence organized its own feeder march, drawing attention to the potential domestic costs of the war, which preceded ANSWER's rally. DC ACC's Zein El-Amine considers the action a great success, because "it was done not by being separatist from the larger event but by building our own coalition and preserving our own ideas."

For those behind United for Peace—such as Cagan; global justice guru Medea Benjamin, founding director of Global Exchange; and former AFL-CIO official Bill Fletcher, president of TransAfrica Forum—the antiwar movement's biggest test is not what to do about ANSWER but whether it is possible to bring together the traditional peace organizations with the two most dynamic social movements in recent years: the sprawling global justice coalition that debuted in Seattle and the urban racial justice movement, with its vibrant campaigns around police brutality, racial profiling and immigrants' rights. Such a merger, they argue, would provide lasting infrastructure for an antiwar movement.

"Events are showing that these issues are interlinked," says Fletcher. "But it will be a challenge for the antiwar movement to talk about the role of empire and the dangers of domestic repression, and a challenge for organizers in communities of color, who have focused on domestic issues to the exclusion of foreign policy."

It's not an easy fit for the global justice movement, either, except perhaps for the movement's anticapitalist sector, which, says El-Amine, has "always understood that you can't have that invisible hand of the market work overseas without the fist of militarism to open up markets." Benjamin says that earlier this fall, she heard deep concern from other global justice forces, still struggling to regroup after September 11, that taking on the war might alienate labor—which was virtually unanimous in support of the invasion of Afghanistan—from its "Teamsters and turtles" alliance. But it turns out that in the view of American labor, Iraq is no Afghanistan. On Iraq, says former Teamsters organizing director Bob Muehlenkamp, "unions have begun to question their government's war policy earlier, more broadly and more seriously than ever before at such an early stage of a war threat," with giant union locals, and even two state labor federations, taking an antiwar stance [see Marc Cooper, "Antiwar Labor Pains," December 9]. In addition, says Benjamin, the massive antiwar demonstration that burst out of the European Social Forum in Florence in early November allayed American activists' concerns about taking on the war. "It sure didn't seem [the Europeans] had a problem convincing people there that saying no to

Esther Kaplan is a print and radio journalist based in Brooklyn. She is also co-chair of Jews for Racial and Economic Justice, which has endorsed United for Peace.

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war was part of the global justice movement," she says.

But the fault line that runs between these three movements—and could easily capsize them as they combine—is what Fletcher calls "the tripwire of US politics": race. While the traditional peace movement—especially its religious wing, mobilized by early, strong leadership from the National Council of Churches—has conferred a moral legitimacy on antiwar sentiment and has reached deeply into Middle America, its organizations are mostly white and middle class. That pattern has plagued the anti-corporate globalization movement, too. This whiteness shapes everything from outreach strategies to meeting style to which messages are considered to have "broad appeal." So it will take some profound rumblings for this movement to tap the deep pockets of antiwar sentiment among African-Americans, Muslims and Latinos. (A recent poll by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies found that African-American support for the war was at a low 19 percent.)

This is why one of the most talked-about developments among antiwar activists is a new coalition, Racial Justice 9-11, formed specifically to build antiwar resistance among communities of color. The coalition's founding conference last February drew forty community-based groups from across the country that have traditionally worked only on home-front agendas, such as criminal justice reform. Coordinator Hany Khalil says that between "the shift of public money to a permanent war abroad" and the possibility "that our own home countries might be targeted down the road," RJ9-11 aims to frame the issues in a way that will break a "routinization" of priorities and focus community attention on the war. Indeed, twenty more groups have joined the coalition in recent months.

As these movements come together, serious differences of opinion are inevitable. While some at the founding meeting of United for Peace urged that a narrow message, "Stop the war on Iraq," would appeal most to Middle America, Khalil and others argue that separating the war abroad from the war at home—from immigrant roundups to stateside structural readjustment—will do little to activate people of color. (The Joint Center's poll showed that while most African-Americans oppose a war, only 6 percent rank it as the top concern.)

Likewise, some urge avoiding the third rail of Palestine, not so much because it would likely alienate Jewish institutions, which have exhibited little inclination to oppose this war anyway, but because the issue has to be carefully formulated to avoid alienating important liberal institutions as well. NOW vice president Olga Vives, for example, mentioned "balance" on the Israel-Palestine conflict as crucial to her group's involvement in a broader peace movement. But given that the Palestinian cause has galvanized the student left and will be deeply affected by any war in the region, Khalil predicts that the antiwar movement will have to take up the question.

The winning formula, Fletcher says, is to insist that "the front needs to include anyone who is in opposition to this war," to respect political differences within the movement as it expands and to work toward "a broader, anti-imperialist political analysis" that can prepare the movement to challenge future American military adventures and their domestic repercussions.

Even as it weathers political growing pains, the movement

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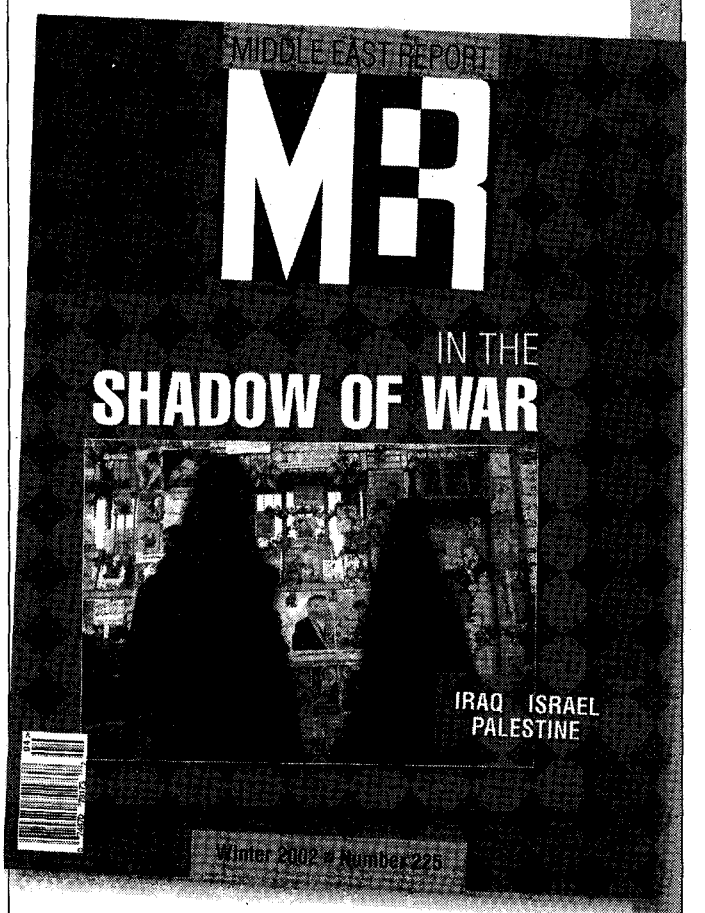

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A STATEMENT OF CONSCIENCE

LET IT NOT BE SAID that people in the United States did nothing when their government declared a war without limit and instituted stark new measures of repression.

THE SIGNERS OF THIS STATEMENT call on the people of the United States to resist the policies and overall political direction that have emerged since September 11, 2001, and which pose grave dangers to the people of the world.

WE BELIEVE that peoples and nations have the right to determine their own destiny, free from military coercion by great powers. We believe that all persons detained or prosecuted by the United States government should have the same rights of due process. We believe that questioning, criticism, and dissent must be valued and protected. We understand that such rights and values are always contested and must be fought for.

WE BELIEVE THAT PEOPLE OF CONSCIENCE MUST TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR WHAT THEIR OWN GOVERNMENTS DO–WE MUST FIRST OF ALL OPPOSE THE INJUSTICE THAT IS DONE IN OUR OWN NAME. Thus we call on all Americans to RESIST the war and repression that has been loosed on the world by the Bush administration. It is unjust, immoral, and illegitimate. We choose to make common cause with the people of the world.

WE TOO WATCHED with shock the horrific events of September 11, 2001. We too mourned the thousands of innocent dead and shook our heads at the terrible scenes of carnage–even as we recalled similar scenes in Baghdad, Panama City, and, a generation ago, Vietnam. We too joined the anguished questioning of millions of Americans who asked why such a thing could happen.

BUT THE MOURNING had barely begun, when the highest leaders of the land unleashed a spirit of revenge. They put out a simplistic script of "good vs. evil" that was taken up by a pliant and intimidated media. They told us that asking why these terrible events had happened verged on treason. There was to be no debate. There were by definition no valid political or moral questions. The only possible answer was to be war abroad and repression at home.

IN OUR NAME, the Bush administration, with near unanimity from Congress, not only attacked Afghanistan but arrogated to itself and its allies the right to rain down military force anywhere and anytime. The brutal repercussions have been felt from the Philippines to Palestine, where Israeli tanks and bulldozers have left a terrible trail of death and destruction. **THE GOVERNMENT NOW OPENLY PREPARES TO WAGE ALL-OUT WAR ON IRAQ–A COUNTRY WHICH HAS NO CONNECTION TO THE HORROR OF SEPTEMBER 11. WHAT KIND OF WORLD WILL THIS BECOME IF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS A BLANK CHECK TO DROP COMMANDOS, ASSASSINS, AND BOMBS WHEREVER IT WANTS?**

IN OUR NAME, within the U.S., the government has created two classes of people: those to whom the basic rights of the U.S. legal system are at least promised, and those who now seem to have no rights at all. The government rounded up over 1,000 immigrants and detained them in secret and indefinitely. Hundreds have been deported and hundreds of others still languish today in prison. This smacks of the infamous concentration camps for Japanese-Americans in World War II. For the first time in decades, immigration procedures single out certain nationalities for unequal treatment.

IN OUR NAME, the government has brought down a pall of repression over society. The President's spokesperson warns people to "watch what they say." Dissident artists, intellectuals, and professors find their views distorted, attacked, and suppressed. The so-called Patriot Act–along with a host of similar measures on the state level–gives police sweeping new powers of search and seizure, supervised if at all by secret proceedings before secret courts.

IN OUR NAME, the executive has steadily usurped the roles and functions of the other branches of government. Military tribunals with lax rules of evidence and no right to appeal to the regular courts are put in place by executive order. Groups are declared "terrorist" at the stroke of a presidential pen.

WE MUST TAKE THE HIGHEST OFFICERS OF THE LAND SERIOUSLY WHEN THEY TALK OF A WAR THAT WILL LAST A GENERATION AND WHEN THEY SPEAK OF A NEW DOMESTIC ORDER. We are confronting a new openly imperial policy towards the world and a domestic policy that manufactures and manipulates fear to curtail rights.

THERE IS A DEADLY TRAJECTORY to the events of the past months that must be seen for what it is and resisted. Too many times in history people have waited until it was too late to resist.

PRESIDENT BUSH HAS DECLARED: "you're either with us or against us." Here is our answer: We refuse to allow you to speak for all the American people. We will not give up our right to question. We will not hand over our consciences in return for a hollow promise of safety. We say NOT IN OUR NAME. We refuse to be party to these wars and we repudiate any inference that they are being waged in our name or for our welfare. We extend a hand to those around the world suffering from these policies; we will show our solidarity in word and deed.

WE WHO SIGN this statement call on all Americans to join together to rise to this challenge. We applaud and support the questioning and protest now going on, even as we recognize the need for much, much more to actually stop this juggernaut. We draw inspiration from the Israeli reservists who, at great personal risk, declare "there IS a limit" and refuse to serve in the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza.

WE ALSO DRAW ON the many examples of resistance and conscience from the past of the United States: from those who fought slavery with rebellions and the underground railroad, to those who defied the Vietnam war by refusing orders, resisting the draft, and standing in solidarity with resisters.

LET US NOT ALLOW the watching world today to despair of our silence and our failure to act. Instead, let the world hear our pledge: we will resist the machinery of war and repression and rally others to do everything possible to stop it.

FOR A COMPLETE LIST OF THE 30,000+ SIGNERS OF THIS STATEMENT AND TO DOWNLOAD PRINTABLE VERSIONS IN SEVERAL LANGUAGES, VISIT **WWW.NION.US**. YOU CAN ALSO SIGN THE STATEMENT ON THE WEBSITE OR BY WRITING TO THE ADDRESS BELOW. **HELP PRINT THE NOT IN OUR NAME STATEMENT OF CONSCIENCE IN PUBLICATIONS ACROSS THE COUNTRY AND INTERNATIONALLY.** MAKE YOUR TAX-DEDUCTIBLE CONTRIBUTION PAYABLE TO THE **BILL OF RIGHTS FOUNDATION** AND MAIL TO **NOT IN OUR NAME**, 158 CHURCH ST., PMB 9, NEW YORK NY 10007. WE SUGGEST A $200 CONTRIBUTION, BUT ALL CONTRIBUTIONS LARGE OR SMALL HELP TO MAKE THE GOAL POSSIBLE. YOUR CONTACT INFORMATION WILL BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL.

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needs resources. What that means is not necessarily money, says John Cavanagh, director of the Institute for Policy Studies, a left-wing Washington think tank, "but a broad range of organizations to decide this is a priority and shift their own resources to it."

There are signs this has begun, among both individuals and institutions. Bob Wing, for example, a lifelong racial justice activist in California, says he began rethinking his priorities "one second after I learned about the crash into the World Trade Center" and has become a full-time antiwar pamphleteer, launching the bilingual tabloid *War Times*—which now has a circulation of 120,000. The Rev. Peter Laarman, who had focused in recent years on building labor solidarity within his congregation at New York City's historic Judson Memorial Church, has turned his attentions to organizing clergy against the war, orchestrating their mass arrest at a December sit-in at the UN. The Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) has redirected half of its staff to Iraq work; Peace Action is raising funds to hire regional antiwar organizers across the country; and Global Exchange has devoted staff time to building United for Peace. Global Exchange's Medea Benjamin, meanwhile, helped to launch Code Pink, which uses a gendered spin on militarism and unilateralism, as well as a daily White House vigil, to attract feminist troops to the antiwar movement.

More mainstream organizations also appear to be extending their antiwar commitments. NOW adopted a fairly radical-sounding resolution in June, condemning "the opportunistic use of fighting terrorism as an excuse for massive imperial expansion," and the group has asked its 500 chapters to turn out women for the Code Pink vigil each week until March. Greenpeace USA head John Passacantando, who wrote an open letter to George Bush opposing the war, says his group plans to build an antiwar message into its new international campaign targeting ExxonMobil, "considered," he says, "to be in the front position to benefit from regime change in Iraq." The NAACP followed up its October antiwar resolution by calling on all its campus chapters to host town hall meetings about the war. An AFL-CIO official says he's trying to get antiwar locals and labor councils together for a national meeting. And the victory of antiwar sectors of the Democratic Party in the contest for minority leadership of the House has reopened the possibility that the party will take to the bully pulpit.

Student activism is picking up steam, as several proven networks expand their mission to join forces against the war. The Student Environmental Action Coalition launched a Militarism and the Environment campaign in August; United Students Against Sweatshops is in discussion about targeting weapons manufacturers; and each is a member of the National Youth and Student Peace Coalition (NYSPC), which already has the capacity to reach some 200,000 students and is planning a national student walkout for next spring. And this is not your father's student antiwar movement. Erica Smiley, the Washington, DC, youth leader, who is in the Black Radical Congress and on the NYSPC steering committee, says the coalition has "all kinds of historically underrepresented youth at the table"; this is reflected in its focus on "the war at home," meaning the lack of jobs and affordable education that is forcing many kids to consider joining the military. NYSPC also plans to develop a web chat room where young soldiers can anonymously express dissent.

The religious mobilization has been the deepest and broadest to date. Despite near silence in the organized Jewish community and a feeling of Patriot-era vulnerability among Muslim congregations, courageous clergy members issued an interfaith call in November for fasting and reflection on the dangers of this war, published simultaneously in Catholic, Protestant, Jewish and Muslim papers. The United Methodists sent out an antiwar educational packet to its congregations across the country. And the National Council of Churches is in the midst of "A Season for Peacemaking," which included the civil disobedience Laarman coordinated at the UN, an action built around the inviting concept of "common humanity." "We don't think the moderate middle really accepts the premise of pre-emptive war, but they're being herded along," says Laarman. "Our role as religious leaders is to unherd them."

Cavanagh, who is a United for Peace co-initiator, sees a three-pronged strategy ahead. First, he says, "what came through in September and October is that there are millions of Americans who have a ton of questions. So this is a time when education has a lot of traction." Second, it's critical to be visible, "to keep the peace movement on the front pages" as the Administration attempts to discredit the weapons-inspection process. And third, the movement needs to promote the voices of unlikely dissenters, such as the many former intelligence officers who are raising red flags, which will "raise the nervousness quotient" among the American public. He argues that even postelection, public opinion still looms large for a White House fixed on 2004.

But some of the most decisive factors are out of the activists' hands. "Most of the opposition is to a unilateral, pre-emptive war," says Cavanagh. "If there's a clear-cut provocation by Iraq and strong international backing, all of that evaporates." The more likely scenario, according to IPS experts, is a feeble excuse for war, trumped up by the Administration, and lukewarm international backing, with a couple of abstentions or even no votes on the UN Security Council. That result would provide a real challenge for the antiwar movement: to quickly educate against what Wing calls "the big-time propaganda machine that will fall into place" and win the public debate about what constitutes a legitimate war. But the movement would likely be aided by broad popular opposition in Europe and the Muslim world.

It would be a moment fraught with danger—of escalating anti-American terrorism, especially—but also opportunity. "There is a hope of this war being disrupted as it goes along," says expatriate journalist Mike Marqusee, who helped to organize London's 400,000-strong antiwar demonstration in September, "and we in the European peace movement want to do whatever we can to strengthen American voices of dissent." Medea Benjamin predicts that January's World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil, attended by some 50,000 last year, will forge a large-scale, international merger of the antiwar and global justice movements—and give a shot in the arm to the US movement. "There's a real wave of ferment in the world," says Tom Hayden. "And it seems directly in response to the cresting of the conservative movement in America. There was an unexplainable worldwide social movement in 1968 as well, and it's back, like a second earthquake, on exactly the same fault line. Stay tuned." ■

For more information about antiwar groups mentioned in this article, see "Voices for Peace," at www.thenation.com.

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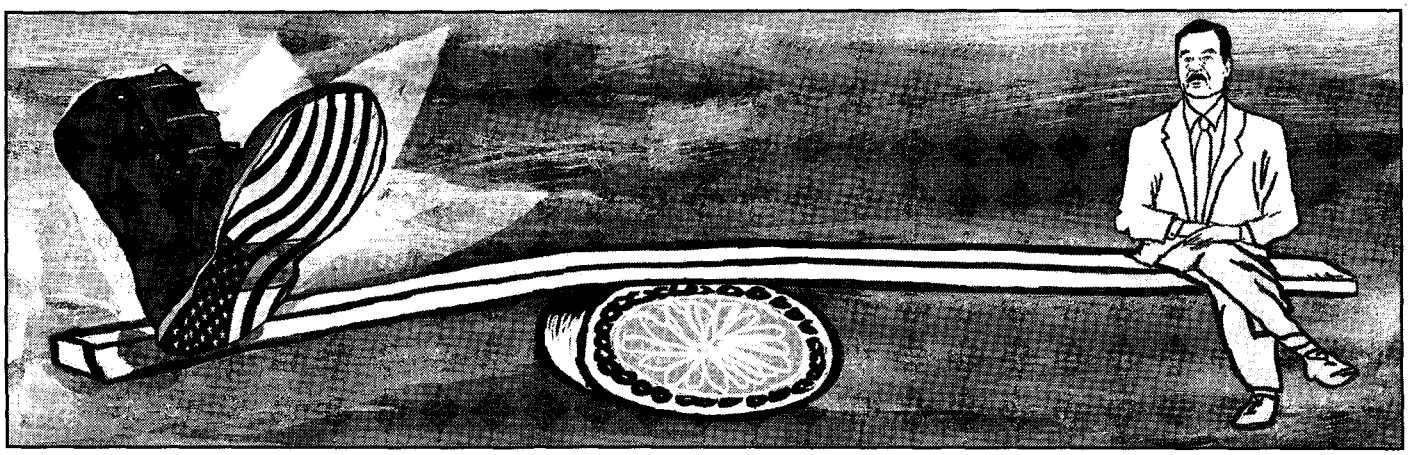
SOME ON THE LEFT BELIEVE AN INVASION OF IRAQ IS JUSTIFIED ON MORAL GROUNDS. BUT SUCH AN INVASION WOULD DO LITTLE TO RELIEVE THE SUFFERING OF THE IRAQI PEOPLE.



KAREN CALDICOTT

The Moral Quandary: Anti-Imperialism vs. Humanitarianism

MICHAEL MASSING

In late November, the journalism department at New York University hosted a forum on Iraq. The first five speakers, who included such liberal luminaries as historian Frances FitzGerald, cultural critic Todd Gitlin, former UN official Brian Urquhart and political scientist Michael Walzer, all expressed varying degrees of skepticism about the wisdom of invading Iraq. Then it was Kanan Makiya's turn. The son of a prominent Iraqi architect who came to this country in the late 1960s to attend MIT and never left, Makiya has spent the past fifteen years publicizing the horrors taking place in his native land. In *Republic of Fear* (1989) and *Cruelty and Silence* (1993) he chronicled the instruments of repression used by Saddam Hussein to brutalize his people and to suppress the Kurdish and Shiite uprisings after the Gulf War.

Now Makiya warned the audience of 200 that he would be striking a "discordant note" with the rest of the panel. "When you look at this coming war from the point of view of the people who are going to pay the greatest price—the people of Iraq—they overwhelmingly want it," Makiya declared. He discussed the steps he and other Iraqi exiles were taking to convince the Bush Administration to make the installation of a democratic government in Baghdad one of its chief war aims. And he urged those in attendance to support that goal. A war to overthrow Saddam, he said, "could have enormous transformative power throughout the Middle East." If there is even a "sliver of a chance—even 5 to 10 percent—that what I'm talking about might happen," Makiya said, those committed to bringing democracy and justice to the world have a "moral obligation" to support military action in Iraq. Amid applause from the audience, the other panelists shifted uncomfortably.

Their discomfort is shared by many American liberals. For, on Iraq, the left finds itself in a quandary, torn between two fundamental principles. One is anti-imperialism—a deep suspicion of US military action abroad, especially when undertaken unilaterally. The other is humanitarianism—an impulse to see America use its influence to promote freedom and human rights around the world. In some cases, like Vietnam, the left has united under the anti-imperial banner; in others, like Bosnia, it has largely embraced the humanitarian standard. In Iraq, both principles seem to apply. How to weigh them? Only by coolly assessing the validity of the humanitarian and anti-intervention arguments can liberals hope to develop a position that is both coherent and defensible.

The humanitarian argument has been put forward most vigorously by Christopher Hitchens, which is unfortunate, since he's been unable to separate the issue from his own messy breakup with the left. In a recent article in the *Washington Post*, for instance, Hitchens denounced Saddam Hussein and antiwar activists with equal zest. On the day Saddam falls, he taunted, "I am booked to have a reunion in Baghdad with several old comrades who have been through hell. We shall not be inviting anyone who spent this precious time urging democratic countries to give Saddam another chance."

Such posturing has made it easy to dismiss Hitchens's views as mere self-promotion. But others have made the case for regime change more persuasively. One is Salman Rushdie. No friend of US foreign policy, Rushdie, in an op-ed piece in the *Post*, came out unequivocally for military action in Iraq. The case against Saddam, he wrote, is based on his decades-long "assault on the

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Iraqi people. He has impoverished them, murdered them, gassed and tortured them, sent them off to die by the tens of thousands in futile wars, repressed them, gagged them, bludgeoned them and then murdered them some more. Saddam Hussein and his ruthless gang of cronies from his home village of Tikrit are homicidal criminals, and their Iraq is a living hell." Rushdie added that "all the Iraqi democratic voices that still exist, all the leaders and potential leaders who still survive, are asking, even pleading for the proposed regime change."

Probably the strongest brief for intervention is *The Threatening Storm: The Case for Invading Iraq*, by Kenneth Pollack. A longtime analyst at the CIA who served on President Clinton's National Security Council, Pollack favors intervention mainly for strategic reasons, viewing Saddam as so serious a threat to international peace and security that he must be removed. But Pollack's horror at Saddam's brutality pervades and shapes his argument. In his book, he grimly describes the techniques used by the Baathist regime to intimidate and terrorize the Iraqi people. Iraq, Pollack writes, has a dozen intelligence and security agencies employing up to 500,000 people. Torture, killing, rape, genocide and other cruelties are parceled out to as many of the regime's personnel as possible so as to implicate them in its crimes. Tortures include gouging out the eyes of children to force confessions from their parents, cutting out the tongues of critics to silence them and dragging in a man's wife or daughter to be raped in front of him. While ordinary Iraqis must subsist on their monthly ration cards, Saddam has, since the end of the Gulf War, built fifty new palaces with "gold-plated faucets and artificial rivers, lakes, and waterfalls that employ pumping equipment that could have been used to address the country's desperate water and sanitation problems." When Saddam's efforts to obtain a nuclear weapon are added in, Pollack writes, it's clear that both the Iraqi people and the world at large would benefit from his ouster.

Salman Rushdie argues that all the democratic voices in Iraq 'are asking, even pleading for the proposed regime change.'

Do most Iraqis agree with this assessment? Given Saddam's totalitarian control, it's impossible to say. Some newspaper accounts have reported more popular opposition to the prospect of a US invasion than Kanan Makiya asserted at the NYU forum. But Peter Bouckaert, a senior researcher for Human Rights Watch, recently spent three weeks in Iraqi Kurdistan, and virtually everyone he met supported military action. "People see this as the best chance in their lifetime to have a change of government," Bouckaert says. "They're desperate to get rid of Saddam." He added: "A lot of us in the progressive left have a certain reticence about going to war. So it was a shock for me to go to Kurdistan and see so many people in favor of such a course."

Some critics of intervention argue that Saddam, by having extended women's rights, free education and other social benefits, has a base of Sunni supporters who lend his regime some legitimacy. Perhaps so, but, judging from a visit I made to Iraq in the summer of 1991, I wonder how large that base might be. Arriving two months after the end of the Gulf War, I had the rare advantage of being able to travel around Baghdad without a government "minder." Although Saddam's secret police were as prevalent as ever, local residents were so disgusted with his excesses that they found ways to communicate their anger. It was not just the executions and mass imprisonments that they despised but the two disastrous and meaningless wars they'd been forced to fight over the previous decade, bloodbaths that had left hundreds of thousands dead and maimed and that had turned their country into an international pariah.

It's sometimes said that Saddam is just one of many tyrants around the world. Both North Korea and Saudi Arabia, our great ally, have equally odious regimes. Why single out Saddam? Well, Saddam clearly qualifies as a butcher, and the impossibility of unseating all the world's dictators seems an unconvincing reason not to seize the chance to depose one of them. When viewed from the perspective of a Kanan Makiya, the case for regime change in Iraq does indeed seem strong.

But what about when that case is viewed from the standpoint of the rest of the world? In evaluating the justness of any military venture, it's critical to weigh the anticipated benefits against the expected costs. In the case of invading Iraq, those costs seem extremely high. A US-led intervention, while liberating the Iraqi people, might well make everyone else less safe.

To begin, there's the continuing threat from Al Qaeda. The mounting series of attacks on "soft" targets from Tunisia to Bali to Mombasa show how lethal the danger from militant Islam remains. Even so staunch an advocate of war as Kenneth Pollack believes that the United States should not confront Saddam until it has contained Al Qaeda. "Even if Iraq is only a few years from acquiring a nuclear weapon," he writes in *The Threatening Storm*, "the fact is that al-Qa'eda is attacking us right now and has demonstrated a capability that Saddam never has—the ability to reach into the US homeland and kill three thousand American civilians." Immediately after September 11, he adds, "we rightly devoted all of the United States' diplomatic, intelligence, and military attention to eradicating the threat from al-Qa'eda, and as long as that remains the case we should not indulge in a distraction as great as toppling Saddam."

Already, the preparations for war are distracting Washington from the task of rebuilding Afghanistan. Every week brings fresh reports of bombings, coup plots and assassination attempts. Afghan officials from President Hamid Karzai on down have pleaded with the United States to expand the peacekeeping force in Afghanistan beyond Kabul—a critical step, they argue, to maintain order. But the Pentagon has refused, in part because it wants to keep its forces free for an assault on Baghdad. If the Karzai government does collapse, Afghanistan would no doubt slide back into anarchy, and the country would once again be open for business to the terrorists.

The Bush Administration's preoccupation with Iraq is similarly distracting it from the ongoing violence in the Middle East. War advocates maintain that ousting a tyrant like Saddam should not be held hostage to the fighting between Israel and the Palestinians, but only the most blinkered observer could fail to see how Washington's neglect of that issue is inflaming anti-American sentiment in the Arab world. As the *Washington Post* recently

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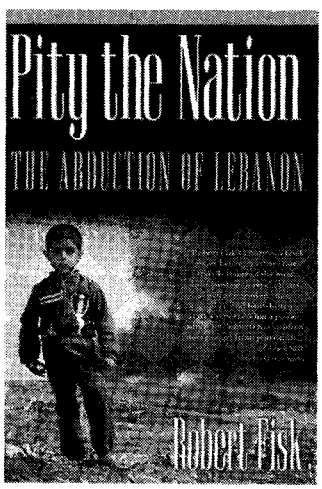

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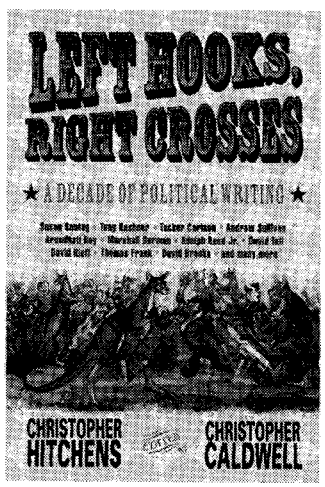

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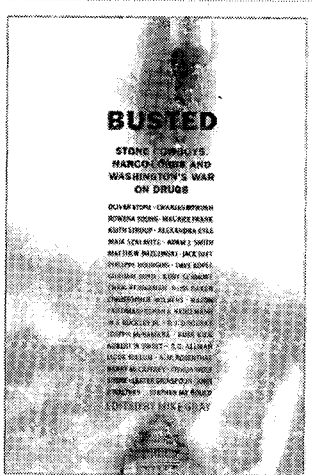

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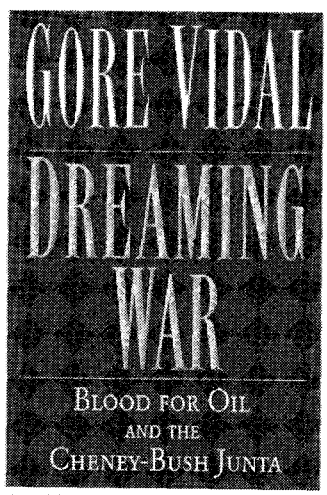

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reported, more than sixty Israeli settlements have taken root on the West Bank over the past two years—to resounding silence from the Bush Administration. Writing in the *Financial Times*, Douglas Hurd, the former British foreign secretary, noted that a quick Anglo-American military victory in Iraq would result in "a sullen and humiliated Arab nation" that could lead to acts of violence against Israel and Western interests. Calling on the West to change its priorities, Hurd urged that the coming weeks be used "to galvanize the peace process and separate the terrorists from the majority of Arabs who still want peace. While the opportunity is still there we need to show that we in the west are concerned with justice for Palestine and security for Israel."

A US assault on Iraq could further incite Muslim extremists. Columnists like Jim Hoagland and Charles Krauthammer like to mock those who invoke the Arab "street." And it's true that most predictions of popular uprisings in the Arab world have proved wrong. But the main worry here is not a grassroots rebellion but a swelling of the terrorists' ranks. An American push toward Baghdad would provide an excellent recruiting tool for Al Qaeda. What's more, as Fareed Zakaria, the editor of *Newsweek International*, recently pointed out, Washington has been so consumed with its military campaign against terrorism (and now with Iraq) that it has neglected the ideological front in that war, especially the effort to foster political reform in the Arab world. The United States, he wrote, "must put this ideological struggle at the heart of the war on terror."

Mark Danner says that contrary to recent expressions of concern for the Iraqi people, the war is about US 'strategic goals in the region.'

Then there's the matter of casualties. It's remarkable how few of the proponents of war address this. Jonathan Chait, in a long article in *The New Republic* about why liberals should support a war to oust Saddam, devoted all of three sentences to the subject. We seem to have entered the era of the "zipless" war, in which cities get stormed and missiles get fired with nary a hint of blood. To his credit, Pollack does discuss the issue. If Iraq is invaded, he writes, the number of American dead could range from 500 to 1,000 if things go well and as many as 10,000 if they don't. The Iraqi toll would likely be much higher. During the four-day ground attack of the Gulf War, Pollack notes, between 10,000 and 30,000 Iraqis died, and an invasion now could claim similar numbers—especially if Saddam's Republican Guard puts up a fight in the streets of Baghdad. The carnage would increase further if Saddam, feeling cornered, decided to deploy his biological and chemical weapons (if, in fact, he turns out to have them).

Once the fighting stops, of course, the United States would face the monumental task of rebuilding Iraq. To do it right, Pollack maintains, America would have to station up to 100,000 troops in the country for five to ten years, at a cost of up to $20 billion, and spend another $5 billion to $10 billion in aid. Is the Bush Administration willing to make such a commitment? It certainly hasn't said so in its many public statements on the issue. And its behavior in post-Taliban Afghanistan inspires little confidence. The Administration has been so stingy with reconstruction aid that President Karzai has literally had to come begging to Washington.

"If we're going to invade, the President has a responsibility to make his case—to explain how long it will take, and what resources we'll have to put in," says Mark Danner, who has written extensively about Haiti and Bosnia. "He's not doing that. We have to read about postwar plans in the *New York Times*. It's remarkable." Danner, who in early October joined such other liberals as Derek Bok, Aryeh Neier and Arthur Schlesinger Jr. in signing an ad in the *Times* opposing the war, says, "The most forceful argument for going to war is helping the Iraqi people. But that's not the reason for this war. I don't remember anybody in the Administration talking about the Iraqi people before August. Rather, it's about America's larger strategic goals in the region. They're going to get rid of this guy, then get out. During the 2000 campaign, George Bush was totally against nation-building. And I don't see any sign of change in that."

Indeed, Kanan Makiya's vision for a post-Saddam Iraq seems excessively rosy. In his talk at NYU, Makiya noted that the democratic forces within the opposition Iraqi National Congress have received the most support from the more hawkish members of the Bush Administration: Cheney, Rumsfeld and Wolfowitz. This drew skepticism from fellow panelist Mansour Farhang. A former Iranian diplomat and staunch opponent of the current regime in Teheran, Farhang said the people of both Iraq and Iran would rejoice at seeing a new, democratic government in Baghdad. But, he quickly added, he doubted that America would actually install one. The Iraqi opposition, working in exile, "has had a thirty-year opportunity to create cohesive democratic organizations, and it has not done so. And now they're learning about democracy from Rumsfeld and Cheney?"

The history of US policy toward Iraq reinforces such doubts. Samantha Power, in researching her book *"A Problem From Hell": America and the Age of Genocide*, spent three years studying documents about the Anfal, Saddam's murderous campaign against the Kurds. Saddam's rule has been so abusive, she says, that Iraq has "sacrificed its right to sovereignty. If any of us lived in a country like that, we'd be praying for global rescue. We'd be looking up in the sky and hoping to see planes."

In the course of researching the Anfal, however, Power also saw declassified documents about the US response—or lack of it. At the time, Washington was tacitly backing Saddam in his war with Iran, and it did not want to endanger its ties to him. As one secret State Department report stated, "Human rights and chemical weapons use aside, in many respects our political and economic interests run parallel with those of Iraq." Some of the people responsible for making Iraq policy back then are in the current Administration, Power notes, and that makes her question the sincerity of their intentions toward the Iraqi people.

Moreover, Saddam, despite his brutal record, is not now carrying out the type of mass slaughter he did against the Kurds in the late 1980s. Iraq today is not like Rwanda in 1994, when Hutus were massacring Tutsis, nor Bosnia in the early and mid-1990s, when Serbs were killing Muslims. So, however cruel Saddam's

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War with Iraq provides a golden "opportunity" for Israel to expel large numbers of Palestinians from their homes, to cleanse Israel of their presence. This is not a new idea among Israel's right-wing. Sharon has not rejected "transfer."

Who is advising President Bush and the Pentagon on Middle East issues? Richard Perle, head of the U.S. Department of Defense's Defense Policy Board, and Douglas Feith, U.S. Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, the third highest-ranking official in the Pentagon.

These are the same men who wrote Netanyahu's 1996 policy paper that called for a violent rearrangement of the Middle East to better suit Israel--a policy which the Bush administration has adopted.

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regime might be, it is not perpetrating the type of atrocities that could normally justify a humanitarian intervention. For this reason, Human Rights Watch has not called for intervention in Iraq, as it did in the cases of Rwanda and Bosnia. (Peter Bouckaert, despite his encounters in Iraqi Kurdistan, remains opposed to military action.)

Finally, there's the fundamental fact that we have not been attacked by Iraq—a major distinction with Afghanistan and Al Qaeda. If Saddam did obtain a nuclear weapon, of course, it would represent a major peril, but most experts agree that the threat is not imminent, undermining the Administration's case for a preemptive strike. "Pre-emption and imminence go together," Michael Walzer observed at the NYU forum. "Nobody expects an Iraqi attack right away, so there is nothing to pre-empt." Nor, he said, could a war against Iraq be considered just, according to the strict criteria for making such a judgment. What is justifiable, Walzer said, is "using the threat of force to enforce the inspections system."

But what happens if that threat fails? Strikingly, at the NYU forum, FitzGerald, Gitlin, Urquhart and Walzer all agreed that if the United Nations finds Iraq in noncompliance with Resolution 1441, it would have no choice but to act. "If there's a clear violation of the UN, we would have to go to war," FitzGerald said, summing up the panel's view. Certainly a war conducted under the aegis of the UN would be preferable to one waged unilaterally by the United States; a UN-authorized assault, by embodying the collective will of the international community, could blunt the anger that might erupt if the world's lone superpower went it alone.

Yet here, it seems, the left faces a trap. By insisting that any action against Iraq be undertaken multilaterally, it seems bound to endorse the decisions of the UN—even if they include a declaration of war. Yet, as was clear during the deliberations over Iraq, the Security Council has become more and more subservient to the will of the United States. What's more, the forces unleashed by an invasion—even if backed by the UN—could still be catastrophic. If the Security Council sanctions a war, does that automatically make it just?

There must be another way. One nonviolent alternative, proposed recently in these pages by Andrew Mack (a former aide to UN Secretary General Kofi Annan), would seek to bolster the internal Iraqi opposition by lifting most of the sanctions on Iraq and opening up the country to foreign investment and other forms of international engagement [see "Containing Saddam," December 16]. A more hardheaded policy of "containment-plus," proposed by Morton Halperin and others, would combine an expansion of the no-fly zones in Iraq to cover the entire country, more intensive surveillance and inspections, and the use of precision airstrikes against targets not destroyed voluntarily on the ground. If evidence of an Iraqi nuclear program did emerge, a raid like the one Israel carried out in 1981—this time with UN backing—could effectively dispose of it.

The great drawback of such an approach, of course, is that it would do little to relieve the suffering of the Iraqi people. Sadly, one might simply have to live with that. In the end, the moral case for intervening in Iraq is very strong, but not strong enough. ■

AN IRAQI OPPOSITION MEETING DOES NOT INSPIRE CONFIDENCE IN U.S. POSTWAR PLANS.

The Post-Saddam Problem

DILIP HIRO

After several postponements, a US-sponsored meeting of Iraqi opposition groups and individuals took place in London on December 14–15.

The main resolutions adopted by some 330 delegates to the Iraqi Open Opposition Conference reiterated their often-repeated commitment to the overthrow of Saddam Hussein and the introduction of democracy in Iraq.

KAREN CALDICOTT

"It was not the opposition Iraqis but the Americans who needed this gathering, eager to show they had broad support among diverse opposition groups," says Dr. Mustafa Alani of the Royal United Services Institute, London. "Whatever show of unity the opposition leaders managed to project will be short-lived. They will go back to devoting more space in their publications to attacking one another than Saddam."

Before the conference had begun, even Kanan Makiya, chairman of the State Department–sponsored committee that issued the document "The Transition to Democracy in Iraq," acknowledged that "no Iraqi Arab political organization on the scene today has been tested and can be said to be truly representative." The assessment of most nonpartisan Iraqis in London was that the US-funded exercise was a thinly disguised attempt by the White House to provide itself with a political cover for invading Iraq.

As Alani notes, "Aside from Sharif Ali bin al Hussein [of the Movement for Constitutional Monarchy], the conference did not have a single Sunni Arab leader, even though Sunnis are a third of the Arab population." The absence of Sunnis, who have ruled Iraq since 1638—first as part of the (Sunni) Ottoman Empire, and later as an independent state, from 1932 to the present—foreshadows trouble in the post-Saddam era, in which a newly empowered Shiite majority may choose to settle old scores with the Sunnis. What's more, like other ruling classes and ethnic groups

Dilip Hiro is the author of Neighbors, Not Friends: Iraq and Iran After the Gulf Wars *(Routledge). His latest book is* Iraq: In the Eye of the Storm *(Nation Books).*

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throughout history, the Sunnis are unlikely to give up power without a fight—and thus they are a force that must be reckoned with in any post-Saddam Iraq.

In reality, so much of the debate in the opposition ranks—whether or not to form a provisional government, and whether to choose its leadership on the basis of ethnicity and sect or sheer merit—was just hot air. These options are predicated on the fate of Saddam. That will be decided by the Pentagon. And gatherings such as the one in London make not an iota of difference to its plans.

How the American invasion of Iraq proceeds will determine what happens after Saddam. Consider three scenarios: optimistic, pessimistic and in-between.

The Pentagon's optimistic scenario envisages the bulk of Saddam's military surrendering or deserting en masse at the end of two to three weeks of continuous bombing, the operation costing $1.5 billion to $3 billion a week, with the population welcoming the "liberating" American soldiers. The brevity of the conflict insures unity in the opposition ranks. The loss of Iraqi oil—now 2–2.5 percent of the global total—is amply compensated for by Saudi Arabia, with its spare capacity amounting to 6 percent of the world aggregate, and Iraq's oilfields will remain unharmed.

The Pentagon's optimistic scenario envisages Saddam's military surrendering or deserting en masse after two or three weeks of bombing.

The military logic behind this scenario, released under different guises by the Pentagon's hawkish civilian bosses and meant to reassure the American public, is based primarily on the testimony of Iraqi defectors. The unreliability of such sources is widely known, the most glaring example of this, for the United States, being the 1961 Bay of Pigs fiasco in Cuba, in which the CIA relied on false information from defectors. This is of great concern in the case of Iraq—as was explained by a British lawyer of Iraqi origin in London, the haven for more notable Iraqi exiles than all other cities and countries combined. "When these Iraqis arrive at a Western airport, they seek political asylum," he says. "For this they must show that they are important, and that they have acted so seriously against the Saddam regime that if returned, they would be jailed, tortured or executed. So these guys lie. And over time they become expert at inventing stories." It is on this foundation that the US-British alliance has built the body of its "intelligence" over the past twelve years, which underlies the Pentagon's sunny scenario.

This scenario also ignores two pre-eminent facts of recent Iraqi history. One, Iraqis have a strong nationalist sense that was enhanced when they fought the eight-year war with Iran. Two, almost invariably, Iraqi civilians blame Washington for the sanctions, which have reduced them to penury. Judging from the opinions expressed to me by ordinary citizens during my visit to Iraq in 2000, so deep is the resentment and hostility toward America and Americans that for the bulk of Iraqis, it is unimaginable that any good can come to them from Washington—especially if that would be at the end of massive bombing by the Pentagon of their weakened country and society. They are therefore unlikely to welcome conquering US soldiers with the warmth the Pentagon expects.

On November 19 the "Iraqi military defects en masse" scenario received a grievous setback. That day the Danish government arrested Nizar al Khazraji, former (Sunni) Iraqi Army chief of staff, living in the town of Soroe, and charged him with crimes against humanity and war crimes for his alleged role in the 1988 Anfal campaign against the Kurds, consisting of mass executions, razing of scores of villages and use of chemical weapons, involving some 100,000 deaths. Before his defection in 1996, Khazraji was a special adviser to Saddam, after having served him as the army chief of staff during 1987–90. "His arrest will make it that much harder to encourage other [Iraqi] officers to defect if they fear they will be charged too," said an opposition leader. Though released on bail, Khazraji has been ordered to remain in Denmark so that special prosecutor Birgitte Vestberg can complete her criminal investigations. She is unmoved by Khazraji's pleas that he is a victim of false accusations by Saddam's agents or by the prospect of upsetting the Anglo-American geopolitical plans, in which Khazraji may figure as the new leader of Iraq. Her sole task, she says, is to determine whether he has committed the alleged crimes, and that could take a year or longer.

There are other problems. Gen. Najib al Salhi, leader of the US-sponsored Iraqi Military Alliance, said the Pentagon's threats to destroy Iraq's conventional weapons risked alienating military elements who might otherwise be receptive to a regime change imposed by the United States. Other generals also warned against purging the army of Saddam supporters, saying there will be a backlash if senior Iraqi officers are punished arbitrarily.

At the other end of the Pentagon's spectrum is its pessimistic scenario. This envisions intense urban fighting in Iraq, where every household has a gun, with the conflict lasting several months. During the fighting, oil wells in Iraq are torched and those elsewhere in the region are damaged by Saddamist saboteurs, as unrest spreads throughout the Middle East and the body bags of US soldiers fuel an antiwar movement in America.

In turn, George W. Bush takes a strong stand, true to his recent declaration to Bob Woodward that as the President he is "the calcium in the backbone" of America. His Administration decides on a long-term occupation and reconstruction of Iraq, at the cost of $160 billion a year, according to Yale economist William Nordhaus.

Even if the worst-case scenario does not come to pass, a military occupation of Iraq remains a serious option, with senior Administration officials frequently alluding to the 1945–52 US occupation of Japan under Gen. Douglas MacArthur. They glibly ignore the numerous differences between postwar Japan in 1945 and postwar Iraq in 2003. Japan under Emperor Hirohito, associated with the sun by tradition and therefore revered as a demigod, surrendered unconditionally, with the Emperor personally endorsing the victors, thus allowing MacArthur to rule by fiat to implement carefully devised policies. There is no sign that Saddam will follow Hirohito's example, or that the Bush White House has put much thought into such policies. Moreover, since MacArthur inherited wholesale the administrative infrastructure

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of Emperor Hirohito, the reform of the political/economic/educational system progressed smoothly. Nobody expects the institutions of the Baathist regime in Iraq to survive Saddam's defeat. So any reform will be hard to implement.

Despite the fact that policing was left to the Japanese authorities, Washington deployed 100,000 troops for more than six years to implement reform in Japan. By contrast, US planners now envisage the stationing of 75,000–100,000 troops at the cost $16 billion a year. This is unrealistic. In Northern Ireland, with a population of 1.7 million, the British government stationed close to 20,000 troops with an equal number of loyal armed policemen and an army reserve of the same size, thus committing 60,000 troops and armed police to tackle about 1,000 members of the Irish Republican Army, most of them in jail at any one time. In addition, the loyalist Protestant majority outnumbered the rebellious Catholic population by 2 to 1.

Unlike highly homogeneous Japan, Iraq is a heterogeneous society. The traditional religious, ethnic and tribal animosities will break out in postwar Iraq once the iron hand of Saddam is removed, with civil conflict erupting along ethnic and sectarian lines, the deadliest one being between Sunnis and Shiites who share the Mesopotamian plain.

Last, Japan lacks natural resources and does not share land borders with neighbors. By contrast, Iraq, possessing the second-largest oil deposits in the world, is surrounded by six intrusive neighbors, each with its own agenda, and is located in a region that has been the most volatile and violent since World War II.

Turkey has its eye on the oil region of Kirkuk in the north. The Saudi royals want to insure that the contagion of "Western-style democracy" does not take root in Iraq and then spread to their kingdom. Iran wants its co-religionist Shiites to assert their power at the expense of the Sunni minority. Syria will do its utmost to see that the new rulers in Baghdad do not turn themselves into Washington's vassals.

Finally, there is the in-between scenario, in which the fighting lasts up to three months. This will strain the fragile unity among opposition groups, as the death and destruction of Iraqi Muslims, shown on Arab and Muslim television channels, will make the continued membership of the Teheran-based Supreme Council of Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI) in the US-sponsored opposition untenable.

Observers agree that SCIRI's clerics have merely taken out an insurance policy: If Saddam is overthrown, they want their share of power. Alani says, "This opportunistic alliance is more embarrassing to the United States than to Iran or SCIRI, to have a body with 'Islamic Revolution' in its name in a US-sponsored alliance."

But then again, those on the inside track of the Bush Jr. Administration know well that what ultimately counts is the puppet master, not the puppet. As one well-placed American observer at the London conference said, "Eighty percent of the people here won't have any role to play in a post-Hussein government." To that figure, one should probably add another 19 percent. ■

LETTERS
CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)

90 percent of all invasive cervical cancers, and the CDC estimates that cervical cancer kills more than 4,000 American women each year.

In other words, medical science does indeed say that sex—outside of a mutually faithful and monogamous relationship with one lifetime partner—is far too often deadly. We do our youth a grave disservice (no pun intended) if we say otherwise. PETER SPRIGG

Family Research Council

NATHAN REPLIES

New York City

■ If Peter Sprigg had simply examined the endnotes in *Talk About Sex*, the book I reviewed, he would have found a citation for FRC's unscientific implication that HIV routinely passes through condoms. The item, "Condom Roulette" is an issue of *In Focus*, FRC's newsletter. *Talk About Sex* author Janice Irvine sent me a copy. So much for the R in Family Research Council. Is the group really so sloppy it doesn't know its own material?

Or is it doing here what it and other anti–sex ed groups are notorious for—making deliberately false and incendiary suggestions simply to garner a soapbox for further misleading claims? Irvine's book describes this practice in detail, and Sprigg's pseudodiscussion about the National Institutes of Health fits the bill.

He says NIH reports that condoms reduce HIV transmission by only 85 percent. The implication is that if you use a condom while having sex with an HIV-infected person, you've got a 15 percent chance of getting infected. In fact, the NIH study dealt only with couples in long-term relationships who knew that one partner had HIV. Even so, they continued to have intercourse regularly over long periods. Among the couples who never used condoms, an average of about seven partners in 100 got infected after a year of having intercourse regularly. Of those who used condoms all the time, about one in 100 got infected after a year. Divide seven into one and you get about 15 percent. The NIH study suggests that even if you use condoms, you run a 1-in-100 risk of contracting HIV if you have intercourse regularly for a year with someone who's infected.

In the real world of teen sexual encounters, some people have HIV, but most don't—and few relationships last as long as a year. Under these circumstances, risk of infection while using a condom is much lower than in the situation the NIH study describes. Adolescents need to know the medical establishment's consensus that condoms are highly effective against HIV transmission, just as they need to know the relative health advantages of abstinence.

Is sex ever risk free—for anyone? Of course not. What in life is? More Americans, including teenagers, are killed every year in automobiles than by AIDS. But we don't withhold information about car safety. We have drivers'-ed classes in high school and teach the use of seatbelts. And what about FRC's much-touted "monogamous marriage"? How many people contract HIV from sex with a spouse—one who doesn't philander, but who shoots drugs with dirty needles? Then there are the 500 women who die in this country annually from complications of childbirth: a grim statistic that has not decreased for years. FRC has nothing to say about this fatal result of heterosexual, often conjugal sex. (Nor does it talk about the estimated 5,000 American women, many of them married, who died every year from abortions before *Roe v. Wade*.)

True, condoms don't prevent genital warts. But a vaccine has just been developed that provides immunity against the virus that causes them. Great news for women. And bad news for scaremongers like FRC. DEBBIE NATHAN

Letters to the editor can be sent to letters@thenation.com or to our New York office, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. Please include a street address and phone number and keep them to 300 words; we reserve the right to edit for reasons of space or clarity.

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

New York, New York

MARY CAMPBELL GALLAGHER

A NEW DEAL FOR NEW YORK.
By Mike Wallace.
Bell & Weiland. 115 pp. $18.95.

The economy of New York City still reels from the attack on September 11, to which has been added the economic effect of global recession and Wall Street's sharp decline. Official estimates of what the World Trade Center attack alone may have cost the city economy run as high as $100 billion. For many New Yorkers, however, the attack on the World Trade Center was a new wound at exactly the spot where an old wound, going back nearly half a century, had not yet healed. They felt again their grief for the bustling, gritty harbor culture of the old Lower West Side that planning for the World Trade Center, completed in 1974, had bulldozed under. They mourned the century-old redbrick Washington Market, Radio Row with its hundreds of small businesses, and the throbbing West Side docks, which were moved to New Jersey. They missed the hundreds of ships that crowded the harbor and the swarms of blue-collar workers and shopkeepers that had animated the streets of lower Manhattan, along with the bankers and traders of Wall Street. They wondered how New York City could recapture all the jobs it had lost, going back fifty years.

Now, in *A New Deal for New York*, Pulitzer Prize–winning historian Mike Wallace, co-author of *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898*, gives us a high-spirited, old-style broadside, published just a year after the September 11 attack and chock-full of ideas and inspiration for reinvigorating New York City. By making New York's chronic economic conditions acute, Wallace says, the tragedy helped us galvanize the will to confront them. In fewer than 100 pages, Wallace stirringly argues for his vision of a renewed New York City. He takes dozens of post–September 11 think-tank briefs, website proposals, government reports, all cited together nowhere else, and melds them into a larger perspective.

Moving from lower Manhattan outward, Wallace first discusses rebuilding. Next, in the book's key section, he argues that in our concern to rebuild lower Manhattan, the rest of the city is getting lost in the shuffle. He suggests ways to stimulate New York's economy. Finally, he invokes the New Deal period, when New York City, with massive government help, at first suffered and then conquered economic disaster. Emphasizing that the New Deal is not a perfect template for today, Wallace nonetheless concludes his book with a mesmerizing litany of its accomplishments in New York, a veritable hymn to the New Deal's heroic scale of government achievement, a moving inspiration to civic action.

Let us look first at the book's vigorous central section, Wallace's proposal for reviving the city's troubled economy, and single out some key suggestions. New York, he points out, is cripplingly dependent on the fragile Wall Street monoculture, which has accounted for 5 percent of the city's total employment, but provided 19 percent of New York's wages and salaries and, between 1992 and 1999, some 50 percent of the growth in gross state product.

Fifty years ago New York led US manufacturing; its port was the greatest in the world. Is there a way back, even after 9/11?

Manufacturing

Wallace argues that the city must diversify and, in particular, protect and foster manufacturing, now an invaluable but neglected corner of our economic garden. Making shrewd use of data from the seminal report "Making It in New York," by the Pratt Institute Center for Community and Environmental Development and the Municipal Art Society, Wallace argues a brilliant brief.

Fifty years ago, New York was the leading manufacturing city in the United States. Garment manufacturing and printing, among other industries, were centered in the city. Since World War II, however,

Mary Campbell Gallagher, president of LTS/Law Training Schools, writes frequently about city planning, architecture and education.

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New York has lost some 750,000 industrial jobs. Wallace argues that this happened mainly because of wrong ideas. "Many civic and corporate leaders," he says, "actively dismissed the production of things as a grungy leftover from the archaic old days." "Free-marketeers chimed in with claims that the plummeting number of industrial positions...represented nought but the inevitable (and inevitably benign) consequences of globalization." Those theories did not account for the fact that New York lost manufacturing jobs at six times the national rate. Thus unmourned, half a million jobs slid into oblivion.

The Pratt-MAS study attributes much of the loss to intense development pressure on manufacturing areas in New York City's superheated real estate market. Unlike back-office buildings or telephone call centers, factories cannot locate anywhere, but must usually be near their customers and suppliers. New York City, however, has done too little to ease the pressures of high-profit office development and renewal projects in areas where lower-rent manufacturing plants have previously thrived, including, currently, Chinatown and the garment district. To which a student of the New York City economy must now add Long Island City, where office development also threatens manufacturing.

Having visited many small New York manufacturers, I can attest that the city's factories, in lofts and small buildings, often in single-industry clusters throughout the five boroughs, churn out an astonishing variety of products. Custom furniture, architectural woodwork, lighting fixtures. Printing. Graphic arts. Mannequins. Optical equipment. "We're particularly good at high-value, low-volume production of customized, time- and design-sensitive products, which demand close cooperation with (and proximity to) customers," Wallace says. That is precisely what many New York City architects, advertising agencies and clothing manufacturers want. Wallace reminds us that with 240,000 jobs, manufacturing remains a crucial component of the economy, set alongside 490,000 in finance, insurance and real estate (FIRE). Manufacturing has a greater multiplier effect than service or retail—it spins off more additional jobs—and it provides entry-level jobs for non-English-speaking immigrants as well. The importance of small businesses in general, not just in manufacturing, is also stressed: "Gotham," Wallace emphasizes, "is a small business town: 99.7 percent of all city businesses have fewer than 500 employees."

Despite the multiplier effect of manufacturing and the employment it gives to immigrants, municipal policy nonetheless favors big finance and real estate, heaping tax abatements and other advantages on developers. Developers who argue that manufacturing can't "make it in the marketplace" sing an entirely different tune when they deposit their own subsidy checks in the bank.

In an urgent call to action, Wallace says that attention must be paid to endangered manufacturing sites everywhere in the city. He urges New York to designate "industrial sanctuaries—overseen by a Trust for Industrial Space—that combine zoning protections, infrastructure improvements, and industrial development incentives, along with pollution controls and restrictions on speculative real estate conversions." New York City can revive manufacturing.

The Port

From 1860 to 1950 New York City was the greatest port in the world, the source of New York's commercial might. As with manufacturing, however, wrong ideas, and negligent or wrongheaded municipal policy, first allowed the port to decay and then shuffled it off to New Jersey. But it can be reborn, Wallace says, with some big-league intervention. Again, large economic forces have been in play, including, to name a few, containerization, superannuated docks and competition from air cargo transport. The effect of these forces was accelerated by the shortsighted conviction that New York City would be better off without such supposedly antediluvian activities.

Now opportunity knocks again, Wallace says, and it moves toward New York City. The newest ships, called post-Panamax, are too big for the Panama Canal. Accordingly, a container from Southeast Asia must sail west via Suez across the Atlantic to New York. Action is already being taken to blast and dredge the Kill Van Kull to allow these ships into New Jersey's Port Newark and Elizabeth. New Jersey can't handle all the traffic by itself, though, and terrorists could shut down the New Jersey port by sinking just one mammoth vessel in the channels.

Thus the port of New York has an opportunity. There are proposals that would allow the huge ships to dock at offshore concrete caissons, as in Europe and Asia, from which "high-speed cranes could transfer containers to barges for direct transshipment around the harbor, or to double-stack rail cars at the old 65th Street train yards," bringing modern shipping to Brooklyn and other deepwater upper harbor locations. Containers could then be shipped over the still-existing tracks of the old Bay Ridge

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line, across the Hell Gate Bridge, and on to the rest of the Northeast.

Thanks to the Robert Moses–era focus on automobiles alone, rather than, say, trains, New York's roads are clogged with containers that arrive in northern New Jersey and Delaware and that then, on board trucks, cross the Verrazano Narrows Bridge into Brooklyn or the George Washington Bridge into Manhattan, heading toward Long Island, Westchester and southern Connecticut. Wallace supports Representative Jerrold Nadler's long campaign for a mitigating alternative, calling for construction of a cross-harbor freight tunnel. Congress appropriated additional funds for an environmental study of that tunnel in early December. Along with an increase in the use of rail float cars, the tunnel would reduce the number of tractor trailers on the roads.

Commerce

Corporations have been moving their jobs out of New York City for a long time—between 1988 and 1995 New York City lost 57,000 jobs in banking alone, precipitating a full-blown collateral depression in real estate; but lower Manhattan had long ago lost its place as the center of commerce. Already in the 1920s, midtown had become the central business district by establishing direct rail links through Grand Central Terminal and Penn Station to the expanding suburbs. Great office towers were built in midtown, and they soon bested downtown's both in height and numbers.

Downtown was hardest hit. David Rockefeller tried to revive lower Manhattan, building Chase Manhattan Plaza in 1960. He persuaded his brother Nelson, then governor, to tear out sixteen acres of the Lower West Side and erect the World Trade Center there. The docks were traded away to New Jersey in exchange for the Hudson Tubes, now the PATH trains. Even these drastic measures, however, failed to revive lower Manhattan. Rockefeller's Chase Bank itself moved its headquarters to midtown. The World Trade Center, heavily subsidized for years, flooded downtown with excess office space and was partly empty for much of its history. Developer Larry Silverstein had just leased the center, doubtless to the Port Authority's great relief, when the September 11 attack occurred.

Nothing so demonstrates the dysfunction of the government's economic policies before and after September 11 as the history of the city and state's so-called retention payments to corporations. Instead of underwriting the port, which of course

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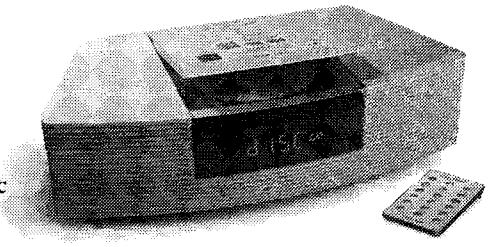

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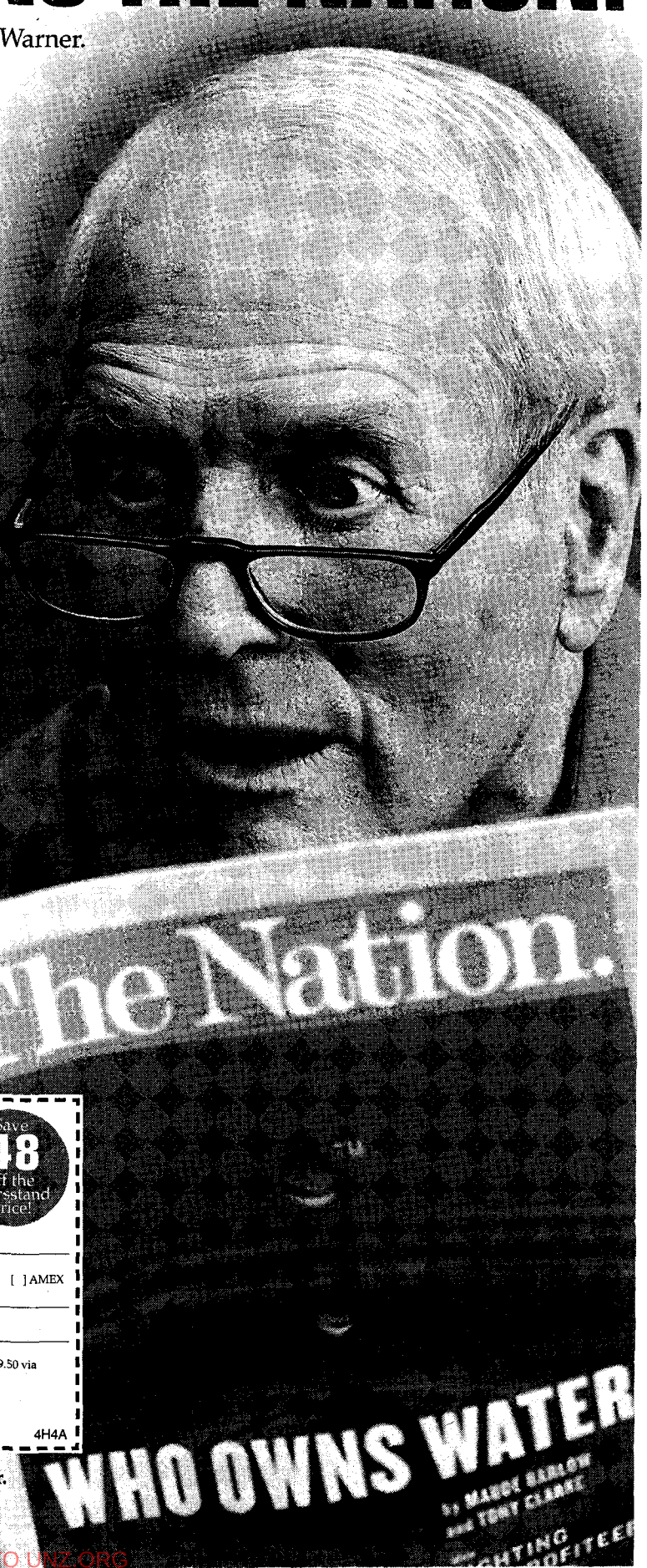

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must be in New York, and instead of protecting the manufacturing sector, much of which wants to be in New York, the city and state have chased large corporations with a checkbook, lavishing billions on companies that do not want to be in New York, and paying them to keep jobs here. For example, Mayor David Dinkins's administration (with the state government) set in motion $145 million in tax breaks for the four commodities exchanges. Another example: When Morgan Stanley considered moving its headquarters and 4,200 jobs to Stamford, Connecticut, it got $40 million to stay. Claims that giveaways were offset by new jobs and taxes have been found suspect, Wallace reports. Efforts at paying corporations to keep jobs in New York continue. The Lower Manhattan Development Corporation (LMDC) is seeking to give away millions of the federal government's post–September 11 aid to companies, if any, that will agree to move to lower Manhattan.

After the September 11 attack, lower Manhattan quickly became a hot battleground for architects, developers and planners. This past September, with new infrastructure not yet planned, the architecture critic of the *New York Times*, Herbert Muschamp, disdained all critical distance while parading the fantasies of his own favorite jet-setting architects in the *Times Magazine*, even as he effectively excluded competing traditionalist architectural proposals.

Remarkably, no fewer than three government entities now claim to be preparing official plans for lower Manhattan. The two principal agencies, long rumored to be in disagreement, are the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation, the planning agency created by Governor George Pataki as a subsidiary of the New York State Urban Development Corporation, on the one hand, and the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, which owns the land under the World Trade Center, on the other. Planning was expected to enter a decisive, faster-moving phase after December 18, when the LMDC published plans from its seven teams of architects. The Port Authority, for its part, said it will release its plan for lower Manhattan by February, focusing on infrastructure and transportation.

All certainty went out the window, however, when Mayor Michael Bloomberg, in an operatic gesture, announced to a startled public in early December that he had been working on his own plans for lower Manhattan, and that he would reveal those on December 12—six days before the LMDC's release.

Where's the Money?

In the recent fat years, Wallace suggests, much money has been diverted away from the public treasury and, by means of numerous tax cuts, fed into private hands. Wallace writes that although Mayor Bloomberg's term to date has been exemplary in many ways, he has nonetheless "balked at...plumping up the revenue side of the budget." That was then. On November 14, after publication of Wallace's book and after the election, the Mayor proposed a remarkable 25 percent hike in property taxes to help close this year's budget gap, and the City Council promptly granted an 18.5 percent increase.

Nothing illustrates the dysfunction of our economic policies as well as the city and state's 'retention payments' to corporations.

The revenue side of the budget will be further plumped up if Albany agrees to revise the personal income tax to include income earned in New York City by nonresidents.

As to a timetable, although the average citizen may not be in a hurry, many other people are. As a landowning and rent-collecting agency, the Port Authority would like its income stream; the City of New York, which had expected up to $75 million a year in property taxes from the World Trade Center, would like its revenue; the Australian shopping-mall developer called Westfield America, which owned the mall in the World Trade Center, the fifth-largest in volume in the United States, would like income from a new mall. To his great credit, Mike Wallace favors going slowly in lower Manhattan.

As I noted at the beginning of this review, Wallace argues that in our concern to rebuild lower Manhattan, the rest of the city is getting lost in the shuffle. Thus he has suggested ways to invigorate New York's economy, finally invoking the New Deal period, when the city, with massive government help, at first suffered and then conquered economic disaster. Mayor Bloomberg's new proposals for lower Manhattan rely on funding sources outside the city budget and do indeed assume massive government help, including the tax-free Liberty Bonds that are already available for New York's rebuilding, plus a possible federally funded tax plan for foreign corporations to induce them to locate in lower Manhattan.

The Mayor's proposals for lower Manhattan are city planning on a grand scale to which New Yorkers have recently been unaccustomed, but for which his chosen chair of the City Planning Commission, Amanda Burden, is well-qualified. The Mayor calls for making West Street into a tree-lined boulevard, for extending other streets, for building ten thousand units of new housing, some at below-market rents, in two new lower Manhattan neighborhoods, in addition to 65,000 new units he proposed for the whole city just days beforehand. The Mayor's proposals include ferry stations, a bus parking facility, a public library, schools, public squares and other amenities, to make two vital new neighborhoods. His most expensive proposal, at $4 billion, is a new tunnel to provide a one-seat transit ride from lower Manhattan to John F. Kennedy airport.

The Mayor, that is, proposes using massive government help, exactly as Wallace urged, and he proposes using it for the kinds of projects Wallace supported. It is too soon to tell whether, by focusing such intensive interventions on lower Manhattan, the Mayor perpetuates the neglect of New York City's larger economy for which Wallace also sought remedies, or whether he has plans for that larger economy, too, including manufacturing. It is too soon to tell whether the proposal for a transit tunnel to JFK might come at the expense of the more important cross-harbor freight tunnel, now working its way through Congress under the aegis of Representative Nadler.

Whatever gets built, Wallace strongly urges active citizen involvement in planning it. He takes hope from the response to the highly publicized, privately financed meeting of some 5,000 citizens, many of them relatives of victims, at the Jacob Javits Center this past July, sponsored by the Civic Alliance to Rebuild Downtown New York. The LMDC had compelled designers to cram the World Trade Center's 11 million square feet of office space, plus a hotel, plus shopping, into much lower buildings, all on the same site, with results that were predictably chunky. The meeting overwhelmingly panned those proposals and the LMDC withdrew them, choosing seven new teams of architects at work under looser guidelines.

What other models are there for the citizen participation that Wallace advocates? In 1962, and again in 1968, the brilliant urbanist-economist-activist Jane Jacobs led her fellow Greenwich Villagers in protests that defeated plans for a Lower Manhattan Expressway, an eight-lane elevated highway that would have obliterated what is now SoHo. Absent another Javits Center meeting or the personal leadership

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WE OPPOSE BOTH SADDAM HUSSEIN
A call for a new, democratic

The Bush administration has already taken advantage of its "War on Terrorism" to intimidate critics, undermine civil liberties and push through a blatantly pro-corporate agenda on a whole range of issues — from trade union rights to the environment. Now it is moving our country ever closer to an illegitimate and dangerous war on Iraq. The administration must not be allowed to get away with its claim that U.S. military aggression has anything to do with bringing freedom to Iraqis or strengthening global security. Instead, the antiwar movement must come forward as the true champion of democracy and peace in the Middle East, and the advocate of a new foreign policy. We invite *Nation* readers to join us in this effort.

—Joanne Landy, Thomas Harrison and Jennifer Scarlott, Co-Directors, Campaign for Peace and Democracy

We oppose the impending U.S.-led war on Iraq, which threatens to inflict vast suffering and destruction, while exacerbating rather than resolving threats to regional and global peace. Saddam Hussein is a tyrant who should be removed from power, both for the good of the Iraqi people and for the security of neighboring countries. However, it is up to the Iraqi people themselves to oust Saddam Hussein, dismantle his police state regime, and democratize their country. People in the United States can be of immense help in this effort—not by supporting military intervention, but by building a strong peace movement and working to ensure that our government pursues a consistently democratic and just foreign policy.

We do not believe that the goal of the approaching war against Iraq is to bring democracy to the Iraqis, nor that it will produce this result. Instead, the Bush Administration's aim is to expand and solidify U.S. predominance in the Middle East, at the cost of tens of thousands of civilian lives if necessary. This war is about U.S. political, military and economic power, about seizing control of oilfields and about strengthening the United States as the enforcer of an inhumane global status quo. *That is why we are opposed to war against Iraq, whether waged unilaterally by Washington or by the UN Security Council, unaccountable to the UN General Assembly and bullied and bribed into endorsing the war.*

The U.S. military may have the ability to destroy Saddam Hussein, but the United States cannot promote democracy in the Muslim world and peace in the Middle East, nor can it deal with the threat posed to all of us by terrorist networks such as Al Qaeda, and by weapons of mass destruction, by pursuing its current policies. Indeed, the U.S. could address these problems only by doing the *opposite* of what it is doing today — that is, by:

- Renouncing the use of military intervention to extend and consolidate U.S. imperial power, and withdrawing U.S. troops from the Middle East.
- Ending its support for corrupt and authoritarian regimes, e.g. Saudi Arabia, the Gulf states and Egypt.
- Opposing, and ending U.S. complicity in, all forms of terrorism worldwide — not just by Al Qaeda, Palestinian suicide bombers and Chechen hostage takers, but also by Colombian paramilitaries, the Israeli military in the Occupied Territories and Russian counterinsurgency forces in Chechnya.
- Ending the cruel sanctions on Iraq, which inflict massive harm on the civilian population.
- Supporting the right of national self-determination for all peoples in the Middle East, including the Kurds, Palestinians and Israeli Jews. Ending one-sided support for Israel in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.
- Taking unilateral steps toward renouncing weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear weapons, and vigorously promoting international disarmament treaties.
- Abandoning IMF/World Bank economic policies that bring mass misery to people in large parts of the world. Initiating a major foreign aid program directed at popular rather than corporate needs.

A U.S. government that carried out these policies would be in a position to honestly and consistently foster democracy in the Middle East and elsewhere. It could encourage democratic forces (not unrepresentative cliques, but genuinely popular parties and movements) in Iraq, Iran and Syria, as well as Egypt, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, the Gulf States and Turkey. Some of these forces exist today, others have yet to arise, but all would flower if nurtured by a new U.S. foreign policy.

These initiatives, taken together, would constitute a truly *democratic* foreign policy. Only such a policy could begin to reverse the mistrust and outright hatred felt by so much of the world's population toward the U.S. At the same time, it would weaken the power of dictatorships and the appeal of terrorism and reactionary religious fundamentalism. Though nothing the United States can do would decisively undermine these elements right away, over time a new U.S. foreign policy would drastically undercut their power and influence.

The Administration's frantic and flagrantly dishonest efforts to portray Saddam Hussein as an imminent military threat to people in this country and to the inhabitants of other Middle Eastern countries lack credibility. Saddam Hussein is a killer and serial aggressor who would doubtless like nothing better than to wreak vengeance on the U.S. and to dominate the Gulf Region. But there is no reason to believe he is suicidal or insane. Considerable evidence suggests that Saddam Hussein is much weaker militarily than

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AND THE U.S. WAR ON IRAQ: U.S. foreign policy

he was before the Gulf War and that he is still some distance from being able to manufacture nuclear weapons. But most important, unlike Al Qaeda, he has a state and a position of power to protect; he knows that any Iraqi act of aggression now against the U.S. or his neighbors would bring about his total destruction. As even CIA Director George Tenet has pointed out, it is precisely the certainty of a war to the finish against his regime that would provide Saddam Hussein with the incentive he now lacks to use whatever weapons he has against the U.S. and its allies.

Weapons of mass destruction endanger us all and must be eliminated. But a war against Iraq is not the answer. War threatens massive harm to Iraqi civilians, will add to the ranks of terrorists throughout the Muslim world, and will encourage international bullies to pursue further acts of aggression. Everyone is legitimately concerned about terrorism; however, the path to genuine security involves promoting democracy, social justice and respect for the right of self-determination, along with disarmament, weapons-free-zones, and inspections. Of all the countries in the world, the United States possesses by far the most powerful arsenal of weapons of mass destruction. If the U.S. were to initiate a democratic foreign policy and take serious steps toward disarmament, it would be able to encourage global disarmament as well as regional demilitarization in the Middle East.

The Bush Administration has used the alleged Iraqi military danger to justify an alarming new doctrine of preemptive war. In the National Security Strategy, publicly released on September 20, 2002, the Bush Administration asserted that the U.S. has the right to attack any country that might be a *potential* threat, not merely in response to an act of military aggression. Much of the world sees this doctrine for what it is: the proclamation of an undisguised U.S. global imperium.

Ordinary Iraqis, and people everywhere, need to know that there is *another* America, made up of those who both recognize the urgent need for democratic change in the Middle East and reject our government's militaristic and imperial foreign policy. By signing this statement we declare our intention to work for a new democratic U.S. foreign policy. That means helping to rein in the war-makers and building the most powerful antiwar movement possible, and at the same time forging links of solidarity and concrete support for democratic forces in Iraq and throughout the Middle East.

We refuse to accept the inevitability of war on Iraq despite the enormous military juggernaut that has been put in place, and we declare our commitment to work with others in this country and abroad to avert it. And if war should start, we will do all in our power to end it immediately.

**List in formation. Affiliations of signers for identification only*

Michael Albert, *ZNet/Z Magazine* • Stanley Aronowitz, Professional Staff Congress, AFT, NYC • Barbara Bader Aldave, National Chair, Gray Panthers • Rosalyn Baxandall, SUNY at Old Westbury • Medea Benjamin, Global Exchange and Women's Peace Vigil • Mel Bienenfeld, NYC • Richard J. Brown, MD, Physicians for a National Health Program-NY • C. Carr, *Village Voice* • Ramón Castellblanch, SF State Univ • Margaret W. Crane, The Write Formula • Richard Deats, *Fellowship* magazine • Manuela Dobos, Brooklyn Parents for Peace • Melinda Downey, *New Politics* • Laura Lee Downs, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales • Karen Durbin, writer • Barbara Ehrenreich, writer • Daniel Ellsberg • Carlos R. Espinosa, architect • Sam Farber, Brooklyn Coll, CUNY • Liza Featherstone, journalist • John Feffer, writer • Barry Finger, New Paltz NY • Thomas Harrison, Campaign for Peace and Democracy • Doug Henwood, *Left Business Observer* • Judith Hempfling • William F., Henning, Jr., CWA Local 1180 • Michael Hirsch, *New Politics* • Marianne Jackson, Rescue Health Care NY • Julius and Phyllis Jacobson, *New Politics* • Robin D.G. Kelley, NYU • Joanne Landy, Campaign for Peace and Democracy • Jesse Lemisch, John Jay Coll of Criminal Justice, CUNY • John Leonard • Sue Leonard • Rabbi Michael Lerner, *TIKKUN* Magazine • Nelson Lichtenstein, UC Santa Barbara • Martha Livingston, SUNY Coll at Old Westbury • Betty Reid Mandell, Bridgewater State Coll • Marvin Mandell, Curry Coll • Selma Marks, NYC • David McReynolds, War Resisters League • Carol Miller, Public Health Activist • John M. Miller, War Resisters League • Ros Petchesky, WEDO (Women's Environment & Development Organization) • Katha Pollitt, *The Nation* • Omar Qureshi • Adolph Reed, Jr., New School Univ • Sonia Jaffe Robbins, Network of East-West Women • Leonard Rodberg, Queens Coll • Matthew Rothschild, *The Progressive* • Edward Said, Columbia Univ • Charles Scarlott, Tucson AZ • Jennifer Scarlott, Campaign for Peace and Democracy • Stephen R. Shalom, William Paterson Univ • Ann Snitow, Network of East-West Women • Sid and Sandy Socolar, NYC • Alan Sokal, New York University • Bernard Tuchman, NYC • Judith Podore Ward, NYC • Lois Weiner, New Jersey City Univ • James Weinstein, founding editor, *In These Times* • Naomi Weisstein, SUNY Buffalo • Cornel West, Princeton Univ • Reginald Wilson, American Council on Education • Barbara Winslow, Brooklyn Coll, CUNY Arnold Jacob Wolf, Rabbi Emeritus, K.A.M. Isaiah Israel Congregation, Chicago • Kent Worcester, Marymount Manhattan College • Howard Zinn, historian

✂ *or rippity-tear*

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of another Jane Jacobs, however, citizens' voices are likely to be muted.

In an inventive suggestion, Wallace urges that the governor should voluntarily subject plans for lower Manhattan to the Uniform Land Use Review Procedure under the City Charter, even though the developers of Ground Zero are legally exempt. This suggestion is intriguing. As a longtime student of city land use, I recall that ULURP did score a triumph in 1996, when opponents halted Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's proposal to open wide streets in almost every district zoned for manufacturing to developers of big-box stores like Home Depot, with no community recourse under ULURP but rather "as of right." When all the hearings were done, none of the city's community boards favored the Mayor's proposal, no borough president supported it and only one member of the City Council, Andrew Eristoff, voted for it.

Wallace writes fluidly even when he is urgently shaping not just historical trends but dense webs of numbers; in the end, his urgency is persuasive. He fits this volume to the age of the Internet, with not just a bibliography but the addresses of websites appended and the promise of updates on the Gotham Center site. New Yorkers may not achieve another New Deal, but, informed by him, they can testify, they can write, they can act. Wallace persuades the reader that if New Yorkers have the will, they can revive their city. ■

Apocalypse Now?

JANE HOLTZ KAY

DEAD CITIES: And Other Tales.
By Mike Davis. New Press. 432 pp. $27.95.

Judgment Day is everyday with Mike Davis. The La Brea tar pits are his spiritual birthplace, apocalypse is his middle name and the plagues that visited the ancient Egyptians are his psychic companions. As readers of his earlier powerful apoca-literature, *City of Quartz* and *Ecology of Fear*, know, this mordantly scathing writer doesn't just research his work, he exhumes it.

Damning humankind's "malice to the landscape" and its abused inhabitants, Davis turned Southern California's palm-strewn paradise into an allegory of fire and brimstone, a climactic urban horror story. "The best place to view Los Angeles of the next millennium is from the ruins of its alternative future," he proposed in his signature work, *City of Quartz*, a decade ago. "The desert around Llano has been prepared like a virgin bride for its eventual union with the Metropolis."

After setting the match to the City of Angels, Davis's books illuminated parallel graveyards—ravaged cities, maltreated minorities and scenarios scarred by ecological and racial conflagrations ablaze in a decade less potentially holocaustical than our own. These days, when real life lives up to his nightmare visions—and Bill Moyers confirms that "if you like God in government, get ready for the Rapture"—this chronicler of urban pestilence might find still more readers for his new book, *Dead Cities: And Other Tales*.

As today's citizens tremble to the color-coded warnings of Washington's terror demonologists, they should be receptive to the narratives of this eloquent standard-bearer of ecological destruction. "Maybe God...is mad at us for making all those dirty movies," as Davis quoted an LA columnist in *Ecology of Fear.* And Allah may be his willing guardian.

Godly, or simply secular, Davis's preface, "The Flames of New York," considers today's troubles with his usual flair for the noir, relinquishing neither the dramatic style by which he turned the City of Angels into the City of Demons nor his rousing use of history. His vivid vituperation against post-9/11 America begins with H.G. Wells's 1907 warning note about the "massacre of New York." It works. Wells's text is an ominous foreshadowing of our day, when "a foreign policy dominated by the Trusts and Monopolies entangles America in a general War of the Powers," and "New Yorkers, still oblivious to any real danger, rally to flags, confetti and an imperial Presidency."

In this preface, Davis milks Wells's dark language to create a gripping warning of "the end of American exceptionalism" with a damning portrait of the "Last Days of America's Pompeii." He begins by mining pre-attack America's terror-mongering, reminding us of the now "laughable" media-fueled warnings: "the occult menaces of black helicopters, killer asteroids, maddog teenagers, recovered memories." And he offers sociologist Barry Glassner's list of the overfeared, more common goblins thereafter, including "young Black men, street drugs, terroristic political correctness and so on." The inventory extends to satanic preschools, road rage and other random ills, excluding little else but the West Nile virus, it begins to seem.

Schematically, the *Dead Cities* text that follows is divided into four parts: "Neon West," "Holy Ghosts," "Riot City" and "Extreme Science." In truth, however, the contents of the four segments and the organization of the book seem to have little relationship to either the title or the chapters that follow. The structure and content are a far cry from the organizing thread of the splendid *Ecology of Fear*, which conveyed "The Dialectic of Ordinary Disaster" in a well-shaped series of ideas around a single core.

The work that follows seems journalistically competent and sufficiently substantiated, as this master of disaster prose displays his trademark mix of daily news and more recondite footnotes. Davis offers well-put environmental mottos on, say, the dangers of the capitalist big city: "because it dominates rather than cooperates with Nature." And yet, the portrait of *Dead Cities* often seems spotty, more a prose performance and mélange of essays than a convincing portrait of cities, living or deceased; it lacks the connective tissue and cohesive content of his best work.

In fact, the whole premise of moribund cities, ably explored in *Ecology of Fear*, is so little elaborated here that reports of such cities' "death" seem, well, especially exaggerated. For openers, while the world may be peering into a red-hot volcano, etc., etc., urban statistics and common impressions indicate that there has been a recent resurgence of many of the more congenial large and small urban cores across the continent. A case can certainly be made for Armageddon anon, but, at this date at least, the statement that "bin Laden et al. have put a silver stake in the heart of the 'downtown revival'" is questionable.

This is not to deny that New Yorkers and others shudder at the state of their urban world, exacerbated by an autocratic presidency and abundant, brutal and questionable security measures. Nor is it to deny the

Jane Holtz Kay, The Nation*'s architecture critic, is the author of* Lost Boston *and* Asphalt Nation: How the Automobile Took Over America and How We Can Take It Back *(California).*

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mania for security evident in bulwarked courthouses and post offices abrim with antiterrorist paraphernalia—even before Congress passed the bureaucratization of Bush's bunker mentality into law with a new agency. But, for all of Davis's ongoing and legitimate excoriation of this nation's urban, racial and social policies, much of that excoriation—and especially its fiery environmental catastrophe—seems excessive when generalized beyond LA.

Consider lower Manhattan itself. Here, leaders of commerce still grabbed for the gold with their usual alacrity, battling over redevelopment while the rubble was being cleared from Ground Zero, the shuttered windows opened and the ravaged buildings mended. Even later, developers still played roulette with the press, enticing reporters to applaud their redesigns for the World Trade Center site (including one P.T. Barnumesque proposal for a tower twice the size of Yamasaki's original). Hubris, to be sure, but not cowering à la "Dead Cities."

There is pleasure in reading individual passages and chapters of Davis's prose; he is at his best when brandishing words like box cutters. "'Irony,' of course, is now an illegal alien in the land of liberty," he writes. He shows his usual skill in finding facts and factoids, dotting his texts with footnotes like a medieval monk going for a twenty-first-century PhD. He is prescient, too, when he talks of the "Fear Economy"—those venture capitalists and Potomac-style pundits who market security from urb to suburb. Broken city budgets be damned. Equally, he mines the literature of government "terrorism" skillfully, pointing out, for instance, the assaults against those termed "Arab" or "Muslim" and underscoring the "vaguely worded and sinister powers" given by Congress to the Justice Department under PATRIOT, the "Proved Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism."

Notwithstanding, the fragmented and forced aspects of the book are evident, beginning with Davis's opening chapter-cum-essay, "White People Are Only a Bad Dream...," which plays on the anniversary of anthropologist James Mooney's Western visit. Ostensibly tracing the story of the Native American leader Wovoka and his vision of "a unified Indian people resuming stewardship of the West after white civilization has been destroyed by a cataclysm of its own making," the text meanders.

Davis follows with "Ecocide in Marlboro Country" which traces the work of Richard Misrach, one of many activist photographers in the long annals of the capturing of America's landscape on film. To be sure, Davis displays his staple feelings in topped-out tones when discussing "Portraits of Hell" or those "national sacrifice zones" in our "Downwind" nation, now barely recognizable as part of the biosphere. Yet for all the cleverness on a micro level, the chapter remains more of an art-magazine essay than either an integrated or compelling record of those who have seen "the heart of the apocalypse."

Like his earlier *Magical Urbanism*, criticized for its nonthematic approach, this book lacks both generalization and projection. History, Davis's forte, which rounded out earlier works, is largely absent. His comments criticizing "The Subway That Ate L.A." are more familiar than insightful. For all the verity of a well-reported phenomenon like "Las Vegas versus Nature," with its commendable return to the vision of Frederick Law Olmsted Jr., the work is shallow. The journalism may be enough to merit its inclusion in the collection, but the rapidly shifting building and rebuilding of Las Vegas's dominion of dice makes the news in it dated, and the chapter loses vigor.

Davis remains our penman of lost souls and lost scenarios: He culls nuggets of avarice and depredation the way miners chisel coal. And his compassionate eye remains as keen as his prose. "On warm evenings, the homeless men who live furtively in the wastelands of Crown Hill like to set up old car seats and broken chairs under the scorched palms to watch the spectacle of dusk over Downtown Los Angeles," he notes as he tells of downtown building near the end of *Dead Cities*, only to drift from there into the rather thin polemic that characterizes this collection.

Not that we don't need a penman of his talent and polemical cast to lacerate today's corporate climate and environmental degradation. Note the scientists' warning during Thanksgiving week of "Glacier Park on Thin Ice," or the news chronicle of how operator errors had released deadly nerve gas at the Army's chemical weapons incinerator in Utah. Consult the reports of mercury in the Washington State environment or "Forest Cover Shrinking" from the sober-sided Society of Environmental Journalists. The disappointment is that despite Davis's insightfulness as a critic and chronicler, he fails to shape each essay's *cri de coeur* into an authentic and moving vision of apocalypse. These are the times that need the Mike Davis of past necrologies to create a more holistic portrait of our current Armageddon. ■

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Occupation Blues

ROBERT JENSEN

ISRAEL/PALESTINE: How to End the War of 1948.
By Tanya Reinhart. Seven Stories. 278 pp. Paper $11.95.

While Israel's decisive victories on the battlefield and overwhelming advantage in military force are crucial to its dominance in the Middle East, perhaps just as important is the success of its propaganda campaign.

Never has this been made clearer than in Tanya Reinhart's new book, which offers a well-documented account of Israel's culpability for the failure of the Oslo process and the current crisis. *Israel/Palestine: How to End the War of 1948* explains not only how the Israeli leadership has pulled off this public relations achievement but the importance of that PR in bolstering support for the Israeli project, both outside and inside the country.

Drawing heavily on reports from the Israeli press that most US readers never see, Reinhart accomplishes the formidable task of adding insight into a subject that is written about endlessly, and doing so without equivocation but also without slipping into raw polemics. There is a refreshing bluntness and candor in her work that makes the political analysis particularly compelling.

Reinhart's study details the gap between Israel's mythology (the narrative of an embattled people fighting a defensive war against intractable enemies who will not stop until every last Israeli is pushed into the sea) and the actual history since 1948 (Israeli leaders' drive to keep the maximal amount of Palestinian land and water with responsibility for the minimal number of Palestinians on that land). She points out that it would be hard for Israel to maintain support for its policy today, at home or abroad, if people understood the history. The mythology, however, has long been effective at creating sympathy, especially as it has proceeded to destroy much of Palestinian society over the past two years.

It's not necessary, of course, that all the world believe that mythology, and most people around the world don't. It is enough that two key populations—Israelis themselves and Americans—have swallowed the propaganda, for the key to a just solution to the conflict lies in those two countries, where citizens have the capacity to bring to bear on leadership the pressure that can make a difference.

Reinhart, a linguistics professor at Tel Aviv University who in recent years has increasingly turned to political analysis, does not flinch from difficult truths about her country as she sketches the contemporary Israeli political landscape: Since the occupation of the Palestinian territories in 1967, Israeli leaders have debated the best way to control those resources. The large Palestinian population made outright annexation of all the West Bank and Gaza Strip impossible; that would have forced the choice between a multiethnic, secular democracy and an explicitly colonial state. So two different approaches emerged. One was the Labor Party's Allon plan, which envisioned annexation of up to 40 percent of the territories with some form of self-rule allowed for the remainder. The second approach, promoted by leaders like Ariel Sharon, aimed for more—if possible through the "transfer" of the troublesome Palestinian population out of the territories.

The Oslo process meant the triumph of the Allon plan, temporarily. With the collaboration of a politically weakened (and hence more open to manipulation by Israel) and increasingly corrupt Yasir Arafat, Israel embarked in the 1990s on the project of creating a subordinate Palestinian entity. Reinhart contends that while it was far from a just solution, the Oslo accords had broad support in an Israeli public that was tired of war and willing to accept life on the land Israel had won before 1967. She describes typical Israelis (herself included) as people who lamented the horrible consequences of the 1948 war for the Palestinians, in which some 700,000 were expelled, but—haunted by the memory of the Holocaust—believed that war had been necessary to establish a state for the Jewish people. Like most Israelis, she supported the dismantling of the settlements in the West Bank and Gaza and the end of the occupation in order to bring peace.

But for others—particularly those she calls the "political generals," including former Prime Minister Ehud Barak and Sharon—the maximalist dream never died, and the plans for more land, and more war, went forward. Because it was difficult to convince Israelis of the need for war, it was crucial to convince them that the Palestinians would never live in peace. Enter Barak and the 2000 Camp David talks.

Many writers have taken apart the propaganda of Barak's so-called "generous offer" to the Palestinians, but Reinhart adds to our understanding with a thorough and clear account that draws extensively on information from Israeli media, and she offers a new account of his strategy. Barak never offered the Palestinians true control over 90 or 95 percent of the territories, as was repeatedly reported. Because there were no maps at those talks and the "offers" were presented as talking points and never formalized, it's not clear just how much land was on the table, and figures vary. Reinhart's estimate, at the low end, is that Israel would have given back only about 60 percent, either confiscating or retaining "temporary" authority over the rest.

Whatever the "real" number is, the larger point is that even after giving up a big chunk of the territories under such a plan, Israel would have retained effective control through what Israeli sociologist and peace activist Jeff Halper calls the "matrix of control"—the settlements, bypass roads, border crossings, military facilities and checkpoints that constitute barriers to Palestinian control over their land. Halper compares it to a prison, in which the prisoners might "own" most of the place while prison authorities retain control over no more than 5 percent—the prison walls, the bars of the cells and a few control points. But control over no more than 5 to 10 percent adds up to effective control.

Under this plan, Arafat was expected to give up claims to effective sovereignty, without a clear concession from Israel, which would have been politically impossible no matter what the situation regarding the even more difficult issues of Jerusalem and the right of return for refugees. Reinhart argues convincingly that Barak "was neither aiming for reconciliation nor genuinely attempting to move closer to an end of conflict." She points out that there was a precedent for Barak's strategy, going back to his 1999–2000 negotiations with Syria over the Golan Heights. In that case, Barak pursued a negotiating strategy designed to derail real progress and frustrate Syria,

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allowing him to paint Syrian leader Hafez Assad as the rejectionist and to convince Israelis—and Americans—that the Syrians would never make peace.

Reinhart's analysis of the second intifada is also clear and compelling. She points out that from the moment of Sharon's provocative visit in September 2000 to Jerusalem's Temple Mount/Haram al-Sharif, Israel's violent reaction to Palestinian protest (which was unarmed at first) was grossly out of proportion. Despite the disparity in force, Israel has successfully defined its military actions as a necessary defense against terrorism, which has resonated particularly well in the United States since 9/11. The result is increasingly common talk in Israel of "the second half of 1948"—finishing the ethnic cleansing that has long been the dream of the maximalists.

That process is already in progress, Reinhart argues, through Israeli actions aimed at destroying (1) the economic infrastructure of the territories, (2) the ability of the Palestinian Authority to provide any security for its people and (3) the Palestinians' political leadership. Could this "slow ethnic cleansing," as Reinhart terms it, be transformed into a military campaign of outright expulsion? Even in the militaristic climate created by Washington's so-called "war on terrorism," Reinhart contends that such a campaign could happen only "under the umbrella of an extensive regional war." That sentence is perhaps the most chilling in the book.

Reinhart's work is important for US readers because of its extensive use of Israeli news sources (many translated from Hebrew), which often are more honest and certainly more complete than US media reports. Reinhart has pointed out that this is not because Israeli journalists are, as a group, any less subordinated to power than commercial journalists in the United States. Instead, she suggests that Israeli journalists are less inhibited in covering some of the brutality of the occupation and the politics behind it simply because the situation has become routine; what would seem outrageous to outsiders is simply normal in Israel, and hence reported more bluntly.

Another of Reinhart's distinctive contributions for a US audience is the description and analysis of the role of the Israeli military. Increasingly seen as "not a state with an army, but an army with a state," Israel has militarized in ways that do not bode well for hopes of a peaceful political settlement. Describing the military as "the driving force behind Israel's politics," she speculates that the real goal of top officers is this ethnic cleansing—finishing the job of 1948—no matter what the political leadership of the country decides.

The picture Reinhart paints of the contemporary situation is honest, realistic and extremely harsh. Yet she remains hopeful about the possibility of real peace and reconciliation. She points out that most of the Israelis in the isolated settlements are willing to leave (according to polls) and that an immediate withdrawal from at least 90 percent of the occupied territories is politically feasible. After such a move, serious negotiations could begin over the large West Bank settlements, the status of Jerusalem and the right of return for refugees. After so many years of failure, not only to achieve peace but to create a framework in which peace is imaginable, it's difficult for many to believe in the possibility of progress, let alone a solution. Yet Reinhart does not come off as naïve about the obstacles. Indeed, because of her unflinching review of the problems, her hope seems not only authentic but sensible. In more recent writing, Reinhart has suggested that the only hope for real peace is for new Labor Party chairman Amram Mitzna to provide Israelis with a true alternative by sticking to his initial plan of unilateral withdrawal from Gaza and much of the West Bank. As the January 28 elections approach and Labor talks more and more of positioning itself as the center, the short-term prospects don't look good. Still, Reinhart's hopes aren't necessarily misplaced.

As the comparison of Israel's policy to the apartheid system in white-ruled South Africa becomes more common, we might remember that in the 1980s it appeared that that system could continue for some time, and many thought the eventual demise of apartheid would be bathed in far more blood than it was. But within a decade, apartheid was over. Perhaps we should keep that in mind when assessing Reinhart's claim that the grimness of the current situation is not a death sentence for a just solution.

Whether that path is possible depends on whether the Israeli and American people put pressure on the leadership in both countries. That has long been the case, and is only clearer after 9/11. But before there can be the will to act, there must be the will to know, to go beyond the propaganda. Reinhart's book—written for a general audience, with a coherent analysis and a compelling call to action—is a good starting place for people who want to know. Her example, that of a citizen of a powerful country willing to contest the conventional wisdom and speak out in public for justice, is a good model for acting on what we learn. ■

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FILMS

Polanski's Holocaust

STUART KLAWANS

THE PIANIST • NARC • CHICAGO • THE HOURS • LORD OF THE RINGS: THE TWO TOWERS • ABOUT SCHMIDT

I can think of no picture of recent years, other than Roman Polanski's *The Pianist*, that has won the Palme d'Or at Cannes and yet stirred neither controversy nor excitement. Is it because the people who chatter about movies affect to be bored now by the Holocaust? If so, I'll admit that the subject has been done; and if you look at the new edition of Annette Insdorf's *Indelible Shadows*, the standard book on the Holocaust in film, you will see that the pace of doing has stepped up. We've had endless documentaries since 1990. We've had *Schindler's List*. And then—what?

Benigni's comedy? Arnaud des Pallières's *Drancy Avenir*, which almost nobody saw, except Godard? There was *The Truce*—the last really big movie by Francesco Rosi, a great director who put all his heart into retelling the book by Primo Levi—but even Godard seems to have missed that one. Why, then, does a certain class of moviegoer assure you, with a hint of condescension, that the Holocaust has become *too easy*? Fed up with the Jews, maybe? Or just unwilling to imagine that there's anything left to face?

If confrontation is needed, Polanski would presumably bring unique resources to the task, as the only survivor of the Krakow ghetto to have become a major filmmaker. (What Spielberg dramatized, Polanski lived.) But again, a note of condescension creeps into the conversation as soon as his name comes up; people who couldn't cite a single Polanski film after *Chinatown* (or before *Rosemary's Baby*) can nevertheless tell you the exact age of the girl he was caught with. Keeping one's head stuck in the tabloids, apparently, is *not* too easy.

So let me put aside *The Pianist* for a few paragraphs and review some of the pictures that are *supposed* to get us excited.

Take *Narc*, for example: a police thriller written and directed by Joe Carnahan, who has won some interest on the tabloid level by having Tom Cruise as a backer. Jason Patric stars as a smoldering, drug-tempted narcotics cop (essentially the same character he played in *Rush*), teamed against his will with Ray Liotta, a bearlike senior detective whose previous partner came to a bloody end. If you ignore the plot twists (which are about as wild as the curves on a Kansas interstate), you will see that *Narc* comes down to being a square-versus-hipster movie. Gray-bearded Liotta, always clad in a coat and tie, stomps through the movie's wintry Detroit like some teenager's angry dad, while Patric (the teenager) slouches around in a watch cap and chin stubble. For a picture that's billed as fresh and bracing, this is a pretty formulaic scheme, which Carnahan attempts to jolt into life through jittery direction. He also provides a lineup of subsidiary characters who are some of the sleaziest, dumbest colored people to be seen since *The Birth of a Nation*.

Also on the subject of tabloids, I should mention that the season brings us the much-anticipated screen version of the musical *Chicago*, which wants to satisfy our appetite for sex 'n' sin and at the same time mock us for being hungry. It's an old tradition. Before the Kander-Ebb-Fosse musical was ever staged, there was a 1942 movie by Nunnally Johnson and William Wellman, *Roxie Hart*; and before that, the 1926 play by Maurine Watkins. What I can tell you about the latest version is that it wastes both of its publicity-mad, jazz-baby man-killers: Renee Zellweger as fantasy-ridden Roxie, and Catherine Zeta-Jones as Velma, her cold, worldly neighbor on Cook County's death row. Never mind that Zellweger is working her hoarse, kewpie-doll charm for all it's worth, and that Zeta-Jones (who started out in life as a dancer) would have been fully capable of selling her numbers, had she been given the chance. But *Chicago* has been brought to the screen by first-time movie director Rob Marshall, who has shot it like one of those commercials for Broadway musicals, the ones that run on the late news in New York City. The purpose is to *tell* you that you're being entertained, by subjecting you to a gazillion quick, unmotivated cuts among ill-lit, slapdash setups—which is irritating enough during a thirty-second spot but unbearable as a movie.

So that's it for tabloid excitement. I suppose we'll have to get worked up instead about prestige—the quality that's said to adhere too easily to *The Pianist*. Does it gather more legitimately about *The Hours*?

A mere recital of that film's credits suggests the level of respect that's demanded of us. Based on the novel by Michael Cunningham and written for the screen by the indefatigable David Hare, *The Hours* stars the Oscar-ready triumvirate of Meryl Streep, Julianne Moore and Nicole Kidman, features a musical score by Philip Glass and is directed by Stephen Daldry (whose previous picture was *Billy Elliot*). All this, and Virginia Woolf, too. The story, as you may know, intertwines the lives of Woolf (played by Kidman behind a putty nose), who is seen on the day in 1923 when she decides to write *Mrs. Dalloway*; Laura (Moore), a housewife suffocating in straight, suburban Los Angeles, who is seen on the day in 1951 when she reads *Mrs. Dalloway* and contemplates suicide; and Clarissa (Streep), a book editor in New York City, who is seen on the day in 2001 when she and her companion (Allison Janney) are to throw a party, in the Clarissa Dalloway style, for their friend Richard (Ed Harris), a brilliant poet dying of AIDS.

Like Virginia Woolf, who started this whole thing, Richard is suicidal. He's tired of life—and why wouldn't he be, having to clump around explaining what David Hare wants you to think? Clarissa, too, is exhausted, and no wonder; whatever she does, the director makes her carry on like a drag queen imitating a fabulous Broadway star of the 1930s. Laura can barely schlep through the day—maybe because she's married to John C. Reilly (who has played the dull husband in two other films this year), or maybe because she's embodied by Moore, who is suffering through 1950s suburbia for the second time this season. As for Woolf, she's just plain exasperated, what with that nose hanging off her face and a Philip Glass score pounding nonstop at her temples. In its intention—similar to that of a Holocaust drama—*The Hours* no doubt means to illuminate the history of an oppressed people, in this case the queer community. In its effect, though, *The Hours* does nothing but turn prestige into a bad mood, passed from one generation to the next.

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Can't prestige be coupled with something invigorating, like box-office clout? It can be, and it is in *The Two Towers*, the new installment of the immensely popular, award-winning *The Lord of the Rings*. I confess I was less than thrilled by the first installment, *The Fellowship of the Ring*, which amounted to a long series of fights and battles, interrupted by episodes of sexless mooning. *The Two Towers* is better, if only because it's got a single big battle, which it saves till the end. It's also brightened by the introduction of Gollum (voice of Andy Serkis), a pathetic, wasted creature who once possessed the evil Ring. Whenever Gollum struggles with his conscience, the movie twitches into life. For the most part, though, *The Two Towers* is preoccupied only with inanimate forces: the flood of water that engulfs a wizard's tower, or the flood of pixels that pour across the screen as computer-generated armies. I began to wonder, as the waves crashed about: Is it still possible for a movie to get excited about *people*?

Alexander Payne says yes. The director of *Election* (one of the sharpest of recent American comedies) and his regular screenwriter, Jim Taylor, are back this December with *About Schmidt*, based on a novel by Louis Begley: the story of a thoroughly ordinary man who is unlike anyone else. Schmidt (Jack Nicholson) is a codger in Omaha, Nebraska—a man who has just retired from a deadening career and has just buried his wife, whom he could no longer abide. He's grief-stricken; he's bored; he's free for the first time in his life and doesn't know what to do about it. So, being American, he takes to the road. Being middle class, he seeks a good, responsible purpose for his travels and discovers it in a scheme to improve his daughter (Hope Davis).

As in *Election*, Payne establishes his tone by putting deluded characters into a blandly factual setting. (He's one of the few American directors today who know what the heartland looks like and have the guts to put it on film.) His style is crisp and mercifully free of showiness; and the supporting cast is first-rate, with Kathy Bates (as Hope Davis's prospective mother-in-law) predictably walking off with the show. The movie's weakness, oddly enough, is Nicholson. Granted, he gives a beautifully nuanced performance in a rich role—neither as nuanced nor as rich as in *As Good as It Gets*, but admirable. And yet you're so aware of Nicholson's self-restraint—the ordinariness that this extraordinary man has put on—that another, damaging level of irony is added to the film. The actor is slightly out of place within the character, as the character (without understanding it) is out of place in his world—which is why, perhaps, *About Schmidt* sometimes feels jeering, as *Election* did not.

So I come back at last to *The Pianist*: the true story of an entirely remarkable man, the Polish-Jewish virtuoso Wladyslaw Szpilman, and the journey he took, without ever leaving Warsaw, into an increasingly harsh and alien landscape.

Szpilman's world, at first, is the cozy capsule of a radio broadcast studio, where he sits playing Chopin. He's sleek and elegant; and when he looks up from the keyboard and smiles—the brilliant young actor Adrien Brody shows you this, with an effortlessness to match the pianism—you understand his utter confidence in belonging right where he sits. Then the window blows in. The Nazis have invaded; Szpilman's long trek is beginning.

He stays behind a piano for as long as possible, getting a job entertaining in a profiteers' cafe in the ghetto. Then comes the big deportation. In a scene that's exemplary for demonstrating what Polanski knows and other directors don't, Szpilman and his family are herded into a plaza with everyone else, to await the train to Treblinka. They have no food, so they use the last of their money to buy one caramel from a peddler who is asking an outrageous price; for as Polanski knows, people still went about grabbing what they could, though they would soon be stripped and murdered. Then Szpilman's family divides the caramel and waits; for as Polanski knows, time passed in that plaza. Polanski has the artistic courage to show you time passing. And he has the artistic skill to turn that courage to his advantage, when Szpilman, alone of his family, is abruptly saved from the deportation, in a gesture that seems all the more quick, convincing and arbitrary for what's gone before.

I could struggle to evoke the strangeness and danger of the world Szpilman finds himself in, as he hangs on after the deportation. I could multiply examples of Polanski's strengths, and strain to find words appropriate to praise Brody (who is himself without strain). But I might do better to say that *The Pianist* is a serious movie brought out in a tabloid-besotted time, a prestige picture that invigorates, a study of character and history that knows irony to be a part of life and not the purpose of art.

I think *The Pianist* is one of the few movies of the season that are really worth getting excited about. ■

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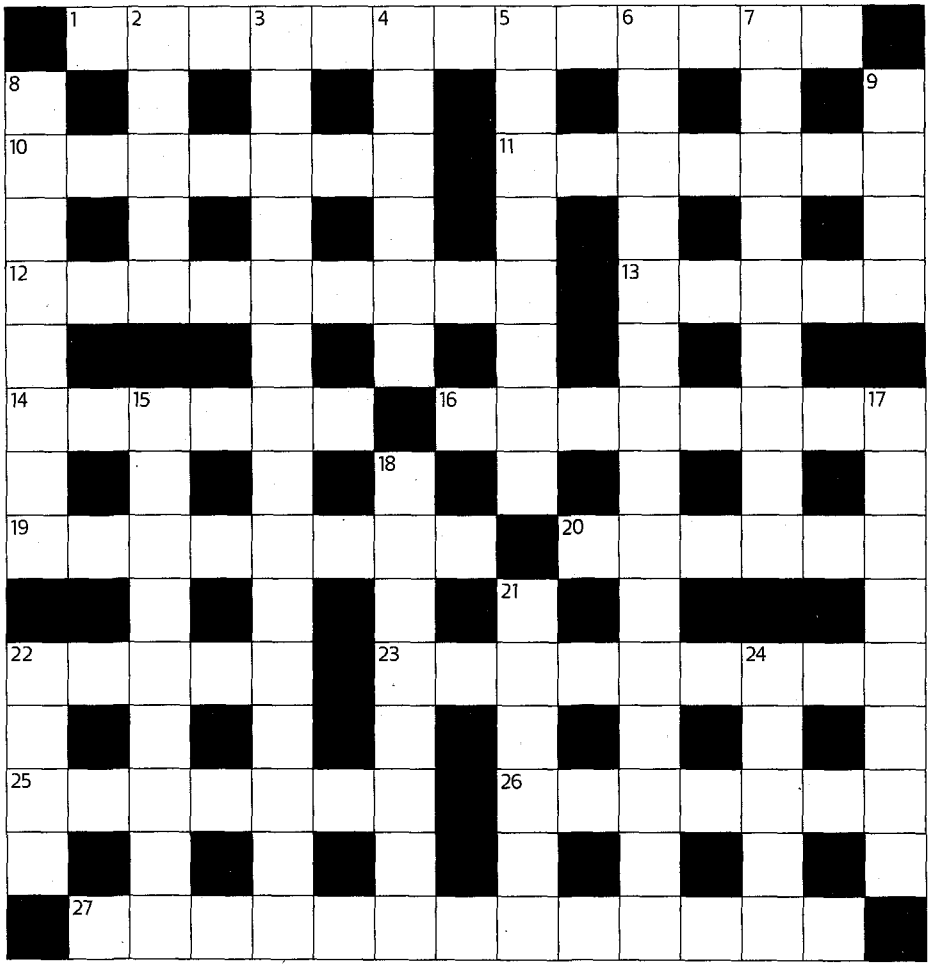

ACROSS

1 A combination of fish and mice, possibly, but one causes minor trouble. (8-5)

10 My first name is Ezra, he might add, when put in the lockup. (7)

11 Possibly acrobatic, if you add the years before AD, being in the country. (7)

12 There's value in painting or drawing, like *ti* to *do*. (4-5)

13 Reel or twist, for example. (5)

14 Your first article is returned, the end being not quite true—but your second one may be instinctive. (6)

16 Army rollers in the air? (8)

19 When cold, one did this—like the unruly horse did about the very beginning. (8)

20 Got the wrong place to live, if you're underprivileged. (6)

22 However, if you get it, you won't wander around haphazardly in your understanding. (5)

23 A rather tough-looking bunch of actors, although they might take shape so. (9)

25 Some say "lose some" with it—especially if good-looking. (7)

26 and **9** down Time for those you owe to remind you what the lovers have, if they intend to spoon… (7,4)

27 …and make a mistake, with kisses given for some shooters. (13)

DOWN

2 Force action (but not military maneuver implied). (5)

3 Icon? It shouldn't be worth much! (11,4)

4 How a fender bender might end, so you do this when you return the carriage, possibly. (6)

5 If such as this is mixed up, they should still look pretty. (8)

6 A cliché of years, assuming they're not new extrusions on the landscape. (2,3,2,3,5)

7 If you're tired of cooking, you might consider this etching. (6,3)

8 and **22** You don't lose this way, if you ignore the "Hands up!" command—and victory comes easy. (3,5,4)

9 See 26 across

15 Referring to what you pay for schooling, like a crazy nut I toil a good deal for it. (9)

17 Is the rag so torn up that there's not enough with it? (8)

18 One doesn't get punishment with it, if you can find it ever ripe. (8)

21 It's Boston, Brother, as some say, so you can expect a lot of hurly-burly! (6)

22 See 8 down

24 This is not intended for audience consumption, except indirectly. (5)

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U		O		U		R		C		P		X		W
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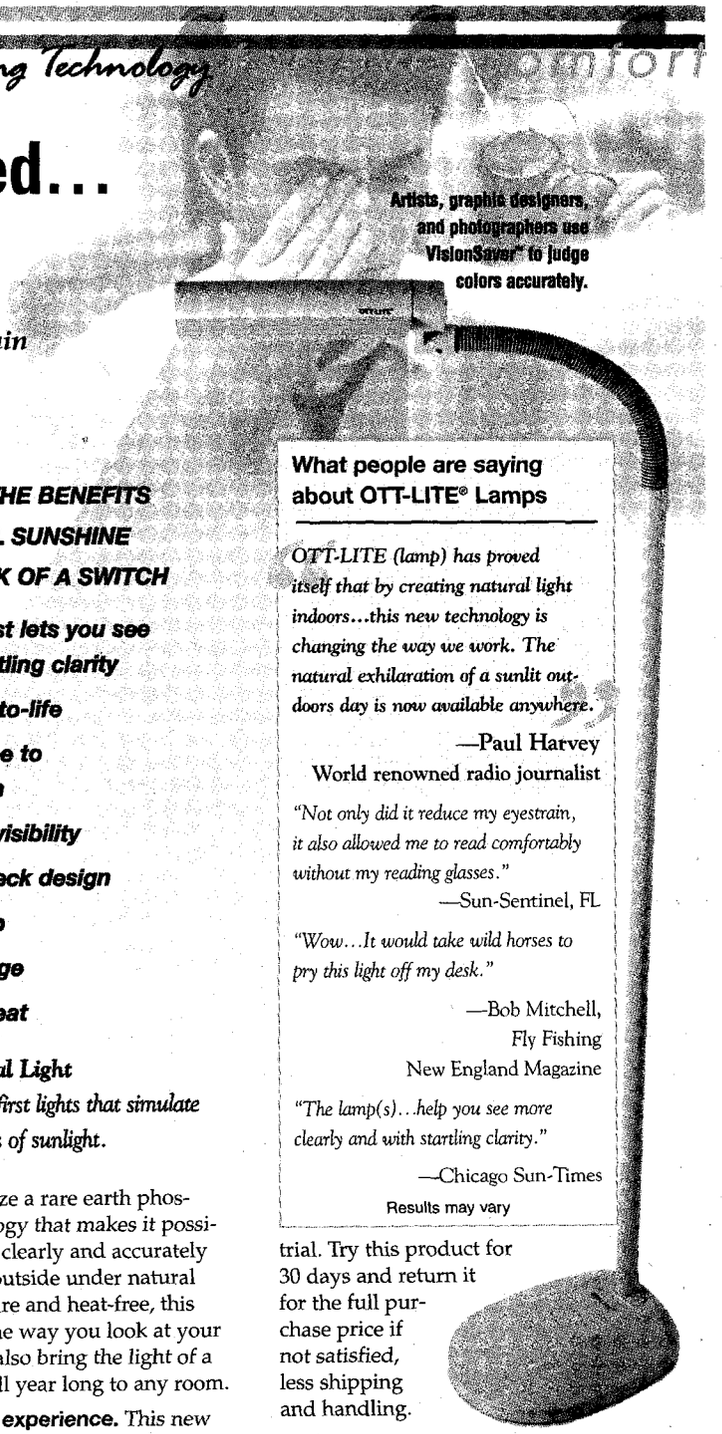

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